

THE YUGA PURĀṆA

JOHN E. MITCHINER



BIBLIOTHECA INDICA—A COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL WORKS 512

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

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*Critically edited, with an English Translation
and a detailed Introduction*

JOHN E. MITCHINER



THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

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PREFATORY NOTE

It is a matter of great satisfaction that it has been possible at last for the Asiatic Society to publish a critical edition of the highly interesting text of the Yuga-Purāṇa with an English translation by John E. Mitchiner. It may be recalled here that the present work supplants and supplements some earlier editions done on parts or portions of the treatise, most of which are now out of print. The enquiries by scholars over the years indicated the growing demand for this unique text.

We hope the present edition of the Yuga-Purāṇa will go a long way to meeting the requirements of our scholars and researchers.

Dr. Chandan Roy Choudhuri
General Secretary

Dated the 20th March 1986

PREFACE

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* is a unique text in several ways. It is perhaps above all the only Indian text which refers in any detail to the presence of Indo-Greeks in India—the other literary evidence for this being brief mentions in the works of Patañjali and Kālidāsa; and it is the only Brahminical text which refers in any detail to Indo-Scythian incursions to western India—episodes which are otherwise recorded only in Jain sources. The passages in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* relating to these events have naturally attracted attention ever since the text was first brought to light by Hendrik Kern little more than a century ago: but they have nonetheless not received the full consideration which they deserve. Two reasons would seem to account for this: in the first place, no numismatic evidence for the presence of either Indo-Greeks or Indo-Scythians in central India before the start of the Christian era was forthcoming until the last ten years; and in the second place, the passages in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* recording these events have remained somewhat unclear, due mainly to the small number of known manuscripts of the text, and have been variously debated and interpreted. This has on occasions given rise to very fanciful “reconstructions” of the text: notably by Jayaswal and Dhruva, but also by such doyens of Indian historical research as Narain and Sircar.

Aside from the “historical” events narrated in the text, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is also important for its account of the four Yugas—the Ages of man—which constitutes most probably the earliest account of the Yugas in Indian literature. This aspect of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* has not so far received attention: part of the reason for this most probably lies in the fact that the non-historical sections of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* were published for the first time only in 1951, by D. R. Mankad, in a work which has since gone out of print; while they were translated into English for the first time only in 1976, by myself. Mankad’s readings for these sections were, moreover, taken predominantly from only a single manuscript, and consequently contained a number of errors and lacunae.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* is a very short work—being but a chapter in a larger and still unedited work on *jyotiṣa*; but its importance far outweighs

its brevity, and a good edition of the text has been desirable for some time. When, therefore, I was in 1977 offered the Bipradas Palchaudhuri Fellowship for 1970 of Calcutta University—an award made once every five years to a foreign scholar, but which is currently running somewhat in arrears—I decided to take this opportunity to prepare an edition of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*. While spending several months searching through manuscript collections in various parts of India, I was able to discover a further eight manuscripts of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*: the present edition is therefore based on a total of 14 manuscripts, and has a full critical apparatus incorporating all variant readings from these manuscripts. The present work also includes an English translation of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, and an Introduction in which are discussed various topics relating both to the *Yuga-Purāṇa* itself and also to the *vyōtiṣa* work of Garga of which the *Yuga-Purāṇa* forms a part.

It is a pleasant duty to record my thanks, firstly, to the Syndicate of Calcutta University, and in particular to Jagadishwar Pal who considerably facilitated several of the administrative intricacies of the Fellowship. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Bratindra Nath Mukherjee: he enthusiastically spent much time going through the text with me line by line, and offered a great many suggestions and criticisms on the translation and on various topics dealt with in the Introduction. Space does not permit me to thank individually all who helped in one way or another during research for this work: but I would especially like to mention the following for help and guidance in consulting manuscript material. In Aliyavada (Gujarat), Shirish D. Mankad and J. P. Chavda; in Alwar, Venimadhava Dharmadhikari; in Banaras Hindu University, H. D. Sharma and R. R. Gupta; in Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University, L. N. Tiwari, B. S. Bharadvaj and Padmarkar Misra; in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Asok K. Bhattacharyya and G. S. Farid; in the National Library, Calcutta, Ram Dular Singh and N. Mukherjee; in Poona (B.O.R.I.), B. N. Paranjpe, V. L. Manjul and A. Gokhale; and finally in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Mlle M-R. Séguy and Gérard Colas. Last but by no means least, my thanks go also to Professor David Pingree of Brown University, for bringing to my attention several new facts concerning Garga and his work: to Jonathan Katz of the Indian Institute in Oxford, and to Dr. John Smith of the Department of Indology at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, for reading through and suggesting improvements particularly in the translation and in an earlier draft of the introductory section dealing with the language

of the text: and to my brother, Michael Mitchiner, for performing a similar task with various sections of the Introduction dealing with numismatic material.

S.O.A.S.

London

30 December 1979

JOHN MITCHINER

ABBREVIATIONS

ADMG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
AIKT	All-India Kashiraj Trust
AIOC	All-India Oriental Conference
AITM	Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology
APES	Andhra Pradesh Epigraphical Series
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
Bib.Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BS	<i>Bṛhat-saṃhitā</i>
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CESS	Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit (by David Pingree, q.v.)
CR	<i>Calcutta Review</i>
CSG	Chaukhāmba Surbhārati Granthamālā
Ep.Ind.	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
FGS	Forbes Gujarati Sabhā
GJ	<i>Gārgīya-jyotiṣa</i>
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IAVRI	International Association of the Vrindaban Research Institute
IGISC	<i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage</i> (by M.B. Mitchiner, q.v.)
Ind.Stud.	<i>Indische Studien</i>
IURJ	<i>Indore University Research Journal</i>
JAIH	<i>Journal of Ancient Indian History</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>

JBBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JBORS	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i>
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KSS	Kāśī Sanskrit Series
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MAPS	Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society
MP	<i>Matsya Purāṇa</i>
n.s.	New Series
ORT	Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina
PTS	Pali Text Society
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SBG	Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā
SBH	Sacred Books of the Hindus
Ut	Utpala
VJ	<i>Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>

INTRODUCTION

1. THE YUGA-PURĀṆA AND THE TREATISES OF GARGA

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* appears as a chapter within a work on *jyotiṣa* ("astrology" in its widest sense, or the study of natural phenomena), whose author is stated to be either Garga or Vṛddha-Garga ("the elder Garga"). Several different names of this work are given within the text itself, and these are primarily as follows:

- a. *Vṛddha-Gārgīya-jyotiṣa (-saṃhitā)*
- b. *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa (-saṃhitā or -śāstra)*
- c. *Vṛddha-Gārgīya-jyotiḥ-śāstra*
- d. *Gārgīya-jyotiḥ-śāstra*
- e. *Vṛddha-Garga-saṃhitā*
- f. *Vṛddha-Gārgī-saṃhitā*
- g. *Gārgī-saṃhitā*
- h. *Vṛddha-Gargeṇa kṛtā Gārgī-saṃhitā*
- i. *Vṛddha-Garga-kṛta-jyotiṣa*
- j. *Vṛddha-Garga-jyotiṣa-śāstra*
- k. *Vṛddha-Gārgīya-saṃhitā jyotiḥ-śāstra*
- l. *Bṛhad-Gārgīya-saṃhitā*

The names "Garga" and "Vṛddha-Garga" for the author of the work are used somewhat indiscriminately within the text. Several episodes do, however, appear wherein "Garga" is propounding his teachings to enquirers: and it is stated in a number of passages in the supplementary *mayūracitraka* section that the teachings are those of "Garga". Varāhamihira states in several contexts in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* that he is expounding the teachings of either Garga or Vṛddha-Garga: the passages in which he cites Garga do appear in the present work, whereas the teachings which he takes from Vṛddha-Garga do not appear therein (see section 2). Similarly, the commentator Utpala quotes a large number of lines from both Garga and Vṛddha-Garga: those quoted from Garga do appear in the present work, while those quoted from Vṛddha-Garga do not appear therein. It would seem, therefore, that the present work is, correctly-speaking, the work of Garga rather than of Vṛddha-Garga. As for the name of the work, we must choose primarily between *Gārgī-* or *Gārgīya-saṃhitā*, *Gārgīya-jyotiḥśāstra*, or *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa (-saṃhitā or -śāstra)*. The latter of these is the name which appears most frequently

within the text itself: and the work will accordingly be referred to as the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. It is to be noted that manuscripts of this work are to be found predominantly in northern India: and that no manuscripts have been found to date anywhere further south than Poona.

There exist also a number of other *jyotiṣa* works which are variously called either *Garga-saṃhitā*, *Gārgya-saṃhitā*, *Vṛddha-Gārgya-saṃhitā*, *Vṛddha Gārgī-saṃhitā*, or *Uttara-Gārgya-saṃhitā*. At least five separate such works have been distinguished by Pingree:¹ and manuscripts of several of these are to be found in southern² as well as in northern India.

None of these *jyotiṣa* works has yet been either edited or translated in full: all are available only in manuscript form. We may, however, note here a further *jyotiṣa* work ascribed to Garga, namely the *Garga-Manoramā* (also called the *Loka-Manoramā* or *Praśnavidyā*): there exist a large number of manuscripts of this work, and the text has additionally been published on several occasions.³ There is, finally, one further *jyotiṣa* work ascribed to "Garga", namely the *Pāśakakevalī* (also known by several other names), which is available in a great many manuscripts and in several printed editions: this "Garga", however, most probably lived around A.D. 900, and his work therefore has no direct connection with that of the earlier Garga.⁴

There is one further work entitled *Garga-saṃhitā* which must be distinguished from all of these *jyotiṣa* works. This is a *purāṇic*-type work, a probably medieval Vaiṣṇava text, which is devoted exclusively to an account of episodes in the life of Kṛṣṇa: and it is available in a large number of manuscripts and in several printed editions.⁵

1 See D. Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, Series A vol.2 pp.117-120 and Series A vol.3 pp.29-30.

2 Notably in Madras (Govt. Oriental Mss. Library and Adyar) and Tanjore.

3 See Pingree, *op.cit.*, A.2 pp.120-122 and A.3 p.30.

4 See *ibid.*, A.2 pp.122-126 and A.3 pp.30-31.

5 The work has been edited in Lahore (1877), Mathura (1898), and Bombay (1912)—in the latter two instances with Hindi translations: and in Calcutta (1926) with a Bengali translation by P. Tarkaratna. Perhaps the most easily accessible edition is that by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa at the Venkaṭeśvara Steam Press in Bombay (1909, rep. 1974): and the work is currently being re-edited by Vibhuti Bhushan Bhattacharya at the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit Viśvavidyalaya—the first part has so far appeared in print, in the *Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā* series (vol.86 part 1: Varanasi, 1959). The work contains the following main divisions:

(1) *Goloka-khaṇḍa*; (2) *Vṛndāvana-khaṇḍa*; (3) *Girirāja-khaṇḍa*; (4) *Madhūryya-khaṇḍa*; (5) *Mathurā-khaṇḍa*; (6) *Dvārakā-khaṇḍa*; (7) *Viśvajit-khaṇḍa*; (8) *Balabhadra-khaṇḍa*; (9) *Vijñāna-khaṇḍa*; (10) *Aśvamedha-khaṇḍa*,

2. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *GĀRGĪYA-JYOTIṢA*

The present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* contains approximately 6,500 *ślokas*.⁶ The oldest extant manuscript of the work cannot be dated earlier than around A.D. 1700: but one manuscript (P) states that it has been copied from a further manuscript which was itself copied by Kumārānanda in Śaka 1460 = A.D. 1538. The sometimes wide divergences between the present manuscript-groups (see section 5) necessitate positing a very considerably earlier date of original composition: thus, for example, the group consisting of manuscripts A-J-K-P-Q seems unlikely to have acquired its different characteristics which distinguish it from the other three manuscript-groups much later than around A.D. 1100. It would consequently appear that the original composition of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* must be ascribed to a period considerably earlier than A.D. 1000.

The earliest accurately-dateable reference to Garga appears in the *Vṛddha-Yavana-jātaka* of Mīnarāja, whose composition Pingree has ascribed to between A.D. 300 and 325.⁷ Mīnarāja states, for example, that he has drawn upon the prior works of Garga and Parāśara for his section on *śakuna*:⁸ and he is evidently an earlier writer than Varāhamihira, since the latter refers to Mīnarāja as one of his own predecessors.⁹ Further references to Garga and his *jyotiṣa*-work appear in the *Mahābhārata*—a text which is considerably more difficult to date, but which was probably completed in its present form by around A.D. 300; these references will be examined below. It would thus seem that the original *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* was composed almost certainly earlier than around A.D. 250.

We are fortunate in having several independent sources for the sayings of Garga. The first of these is Utpala (*fl.* A.D. 966), who wrote commentaries on several of the works of Varāhamihira in which he cites numerous lines (not always complete *ślokas*) from the work of Garga. In

6 This total is given in colophons at the end of mss. C and P: and it would appear to be accurate, judging by the number of *ślokas* on each folio.

7 See Pingree, *The Yavana-jātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol.1 p.24: and *ibid.*, 'The Empire of RudrYadāman and aśodharman'.

8 *Vṛddha-Yavana-jātaka*, chs.67-71.

9 E.g. *Brhaj-jātaka* 12.1.

his commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, for example, he cites some 960 lines from Garga.¹⁰ and while I have not yet had the opportunity to attempt to trace all of these lines, nonetheless all those which I have sought to trace are without exception to be found—in virtually identical form—in the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. Further commentators similarly quote lines from Garga's work: Somākara Śeṣa, for example, cites a total of 82 different lines from Garga in his commentary on the (*Yājñuṣa*-) *Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa*;¹¹ while other commentators who cite lines from Garga include Viṣṇuśarman, Śivarāja, Nārāyaṇa and Govinda.

A further important source for the sayings of Garga is Varāhamihira himself (fl. c. A.D. 550). In a number of contexts in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Varāhamihira claims to be expounding the teachings of Garga: and in several passages he claims that he is quoting *śloka*s from Garga.¹² Once again, these *śloka*s are all to be found—in virtually identical form—in the present text of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. Much of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* would seem, indeed, to have been modelled—in both form and content—upon the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*: as can be seen from Appendix 1, where the chapters of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* are listed individually together with a note of corresponding chapters in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.

A number of lines and *śloka*s from Garga have also been incorporated within the *Parīśiṣṭas* of the *Atharvaveda*: and these can once again be traced, often in identical form, in the present text of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*.¹³

The *Matsya Purāṇa* is another source for Garga's sayings: it contains ten chapters (229-236) which are said to have been spoken by Garga himself, and these once again are to be found—with minor variants—in the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. The *Matsya Purāṇa* has clearly abbreviated the original account: for Utpala also gives some citations from the same chapters of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* (dealing with Portents or *utpātā*, Aṅga 39), and cites certain verses which are omitted from the *Matsya-Purāṇa* chap-

10 A list of these lines is to be found in Appendix 2.

11 It is, however, uncertain whether these lines actually appear in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. The lines are cited at *Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa* 5 (4 lines), *VJ* 8 (4 lines), *VJ* 10 (33 lines), *VJ* 11 (29 lines), *VJ* 12 (4 lines), *VJ* 17 (6 lines), *VJ* 29 (3 lines), *VJ* 37 (4 lines), *VJ* 41 (2 lines), and *VJ* 43 (4 lines). The lines cited at *VJ* 37, 41, 43, and one at 29 are repetitions of previous citations.

12 E.g. at *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 2.1, 2.6, 45.1, 45.52-54, 45.56-58, 45.62-64, 45.70-72, 45.79-80, 64.8-9.

13 E.g. *Parīśiṣṭa* 50.4.4, 51.1.2, 51.5.6, 52.16.4, 62.1.1, 64.7.7, 68.1.53 (from 'Garga'): 61.1.1 (from 'Vṛddha-Garga'): 1.3.1, 43.4.19, 43.4.45, 49.4.9, 70.b.1.1-70.b.23. 15 (from 'Gārgya'): The passage at *Parīśiṣṭa* 70.b.10.2-4, for example, is that listed in the Table from Aṅga 39.viii of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*.

ters but are nonetheless covered by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (chapter 45).¹⁴ On the other hand, the chapters in the *Matsya Purāṇa* in places give readings which adhere more faithfully to the text of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* than those of Utpala—while in other cases the converse is true. The accompanying Table illustrates some of the correspondences for these chapters between the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, Utpala's citations, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. The precise dating of the *Matsya Purāṇa*—like that of all the *Purāṇa*s—is complicated by the fact that while many parts of it are closely allied to or copied from the *Harivaṃśa*, and are almost certainly of pre-Gupta antiquity and therefore attributable in composition to c. A.D. 250-300,¹⁵ it nonetheless contains interpolations of a much later date. It is nevertheless to be acknowledged as one of the earliest of the *Purāṇa*s: and it would probably be fairly safe to assume that the chapters cited from Garga found their way into the *Matsya Purāṇa* not later than around A.D. 500, and quite likely considerably earlier than that date.

The *Agni Purāṇa* is a further text which contains material associated with Garga. Two chapters in this work—on the *lakṣaṇa*s or characteristic marks of men and women—are said to be those taught to Garga by Atri: and these once again appear, with some variants, in the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* (Aṅga 48).¹⁶ The precise date of composition of the *Agni Purāṇa*

14 As for example in the chapter on unnatural births, treated at length in both the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* (GJ Aṅga 39.viii; see list in Appendix 1) and the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (BS 45.51-58 + Utpala citations), but only briefly dealt with in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (MP chapter 235).

The corresponding Portent-chapters in GJ, MP, and BS are as follows:

GJ 39.i *nīśaya*—MP 229 *utpatti*—BS 45.1-7 + Ut;

GJ 39.ii *devatāceṣṭita*—MP 230 *arcādhikāra*—BS 45.8-17 + Ut, *liṅgavaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.iii *jyotiṣovabhāsavaiṅkṛta*—MP 231 *agnivaiṅkṛta*—BS 45.18-24 + Ut, *agnivaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.iv *sasyavaiṅkṛta*—BS 45.33-37 *sasyavaiṅkṛta* (MP omits);

GJ 39.v *vrkṣotpātika*—MP 232 *vrkṣotpātapraśamana*—BS 45.25-32 + Ut, *vrkṣavaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.vi *vr̥ṣṭi/varsavaiṅkṛta*—MP 233 *vr̥ṣṭivaiṅkṛtipra*^o—BS 45.38-45 *vr̥ṣṭivaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.vii *naḍivaiṅkṛta*—MP 234 *salilāśayavaiṅkṛta*—BS 45.46-50 *jalavaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.viii *jāyavaiṅkṛta*—MP 235 *striprasavavaiṅkṛta*—BS 45.51-58 + Ut, *prasavavaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.ix *vāyuvaiṅkṛta*—MP 236 *upaskaravaiṅkṛta*—BS 45.59-64 *vāyavavaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.x *mṛgapakṣivaiṅkṛta*—MP 237 *ibid.*—BS 45.65-72 + Ut, *mṛgapakṣyādivaiṅkṛta*;

GJ 39.xi *akālotpātika*—MP 238 *utpātapraśamana*—BS 45.73-80 *śakradhvajendrakilādivaiṅkṛta*.

15 See J.E. Mitchiner, *Traditions of the Seven Rishis*, chs.1-4.

16 The chapters are at *Agni Purāṇa* 2.242 and 2.243. Considerable research is being done at present on passages relating to the *lakṣaṇa*s in Indian and Tibetan sources (including the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*) by Michel Delahoutre, whose work *Recherches sur la Valeur Iconographique des LAKṢAṆA* in three volumes will, it is to be hoped, appear before long.

TABLE

**Correspondences between the Portent-passages
in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and**

(Correspondences of parti

<i>Gārgīya-jyotiṣa</i> Aṅga 39.ii	Utpala comm. on BS 45.8
devatārcāḥ pranṛtyanti vepante prajvalanti ca / nṛtyanti muhurodante prasvidyanti hasyanti vā //	devatārcāḥ pranṛtyanti vepante prajvalanti vā / muhurnṛtyanti rodanti prakhidayanti hasanti vā //
uttiṣṭhanti niṣīdanti pradhāvanti pibanti vā /	uttiṣṭhanti niṣīdanti pradhāvanti patanti vā /
<i>bhuñjante</i> vikṣipante vā <i>gātrapraha-</i> <i>raṇadvi jān //</i>	khūjanti vikṣipante ca <i>gātrapraha-</i> <i>raṇadhva jān //</i>
avāṇmukhā vā tiṣṭhanti sthānāt- sthānaṃ <i>vrajanti ca /</i>	avāṇmukhā vā tiṣṭhanti sthānāt- sthānaṃ <i>vrajanti va /</i>
vamanty agniṃ tathā dhūmaṃ snehaṃ raktaṃ <i>tathā vasām //</i>	vamanty agniṃ tathā dhūmaṃ snehaṃ raktaṃ payo jalam //

Aṅga 39.iii	comm. on BS 45.21
<i>anaiśāni</i> tamāṃsi syur <i>yadi vā</i> <i>pāṃsavo rajaḥ /</i>	aniśani tamāṃsi syur <i>yadi va</i> <i>pāṃsavo rajaḥ /</i>
dhūmaś <i>cānagni jo</i> yatra tatra vidyān <i>mahābhayam //</i>	dhūmaś cānagninā yatra tatra vidyān mahadbhayam //

Aṅga 39.v	comm. on BS 45.26
svarāṣṭrabhedam kurute phalapuṣpa- <i>manārttavam /</i>	svarāṣṭrabhedam kurute phalapuṣpa- <i>manārttavam /</i>

Aṅga 39.viii	comm. on BS 45.52
<i>akālaprasavā nāryaḥ kālātita prajās</i> <i>tathā /</i>	akāle prasave caiva kālātite 'tha vā punaḥ /
asādhyayugmaprasavā nānācin hādicitāḥ //	asaṃkhyāyajane caiva yugmasya prasave tathā //
amānuṣāṇy atunḍāni saṃjāta- <i>vyañjanāni ca /</i>	amānuṣāṇi kāṇḍāni sanjāta- <i>vyañjanāni vā /</i>
atyāṅga saṅga vyaṅgāni vyānāṅgāny api vā yadi //	anāṅga hy adhikāṅgā vā hīnāṅgāḥ saṃbhavanti vā //
caratya aśvasādrśyāni avodāruṣya- vanti ca /	vimukhāḥ pakṣisadrśās tathārdha- puruṣāś ca vā /
vināśam tasya niyatam kulasya ca vinirdiśet //	vināśam tasya deśasya kulasya ca vinirdiśet //

NOTE: after the first line of 230, MP

TABLE

**in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* and in Utpala's Citations,
in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā***

cular note in italics)

<i>Matsya Purāṇa</i> 230.1-4a	<i>Bṛhat-saṃhitā</i> 45.8
devatārcāḥ pranṛtyanti vepante prajvalanti ca / āraṇṭanti rudanti etāḥ prāsvidyanti hasanti ca /	animittabhaṅgacalanakhedāśruni- pātajalpanādyāni /
uttiṣṭhanti niṣīdanti pradhāvanti dhamanti ca //	liṅgārcāyatanānāṃ nāśāya nareśade- śānām //
<i>bhuñjate</i> vikṣipante vā kośaprahar- aṇadhvajān /	
avāṇmukhā vā tiṣṭhanti sthānāt- sthānaṃ bhramanti ca //	
vamanty agniṃ tathā dhūmaṃ snehaṃ raktaṃ <i>tathā vasām /</i>	
231.4a-b	45.21
<i>anaiśāni</i> tamāṃsi syur vinā pāṃsū rajāṃsi ca /	dhūmo 'nagnisamuttho rajas tamaś cāhniṃ mahābhayadam /
dhūmaś <i>cānagni jo</i> yatra tatra vidyān <i>mahābhayam //</i>	vyabhre niśyudunāśo darśanam api cāhni doṣakaram //
232.7a	45.26
svarāṣṭrabhedam kurute phalapuṣ- pamathāntare /	rāṣṭravibhedas tv anṛtau bālavadhe 'tīva kusūmite bāle /
235.1-3	45.51-2
<i>akālaprasavā nāryaḥ kālātita prajās</i> <i>tathā /</i>	prasavavikāre strīṇaṃ dvitricatuḥ- prabhṛtisamprasūtau vā /
vikṛtaprasavāś caiva yugmasampra- savās tathā //	hīnātiriktakāle ca deśakulasamkṣayo bhavati //
amānuṣā hy atunḍāś ca saṃjātav- yasanās tathā /	vaḍavoṣṭramāhiṣagohastiniṣu yama- lodbhave maraṇam eṣām /
hīnāṅgā adhikāṅgāś ca jāyante yadi vā striyaḥ //	saṃmāsāt sūtiphalam śāntau śloka ca gargoktau //
paśavaḥ pakṣiṇāś caiva tathaiva ca sarīrpāḥ /	
vināśam tasya deśasya kulasya ca vinirdiśet //	
inserts a repetition of line 4a-b (vamanty ...)	

is uncertain: but an approximate date of A.D. 750 would probably be not unreasonable, and it is in any event somewhat later than the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

The *Mahābhārata* contains two passages of considerable importance relating to Garga, as well as several additional references to him. One of these, in the *Śalya Parvan*, relates that "Vṛddha-Garga" had revealed to him knowledge of Time and of *jyotiṣa*, and more specifically of favourable and unfavourable Portents (*utpātā*):¹⁷ while in the other passage, "Gārgya" relates that he was granted knowledge of Time and great omens in sixty-four divisions (*catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅga*).¹⁸ This latter passage, which appears in the *Anuśāsana Parvan*, uses the same term *catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅga* as is used on several occasions within the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* itself as a description of the contents of the work:¹⁹ and, as will be seen from the list of contents of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in Appendix 1, the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* contains a total of sixty-two Aṅgas or main divisions plus two introductory chapters, which are said to be subdivided into twenty-four primary Aṅgas and forty secondary Aṅgas or Upāṅgas. Thus it would appear that, by the time these passages in the *Mahābhārata* were composed, the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* was already constituted and well-known in a form at least very similar to its present form. The date of composition of the various parts of the *Mahābhārata* is generally accepted as being within the range 300 B.C.—A.D. 300: and the *Śalya* and *Anuśāsana Parvans*, while not being among the earliest parts of the *Mahābhārata*, are nonetheless far from being the latest parts of that work. Thus if the date of composition of these passages relating to Garga and his work be ascribed to approximately A.D. 150, the date of composition of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* must accordingly be ascribed to a still earlier period.

Turning now to the evidence of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* itself, it is to be noted that *janapada*-chapters (Aṅga 23) contain the names of a large number of peoples and countries. The Śakas and Yavanas are mentioned on several occasions: but, unlike the corresponding chapters in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, the chapters in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* make no mention of the

17 *Mahābhārata* 9.36.14-17.

18 *Mahābhārata* 13.18.25-26. Both of these passages are given in Appendix 1.

19 For example in Aṅga 2, and at the end of Aṅga 62: see the passage and list in Appendix 1.

Pahlavas, Tuṣāras or Hūnas.²⁰ We have also the *śloka* which Varāhamihira has seemingly again borrowed from Garga:

mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak śāstram idaṃ sthitam |
ṛṣivat te 'pi pūjyante kiṃ punar daivavid dvijaḥ ||

"The Yavanas are indeed Mlecchas (peoples of low birth), yet among them this science (*jyotiṣa*) is truly established: even they are (for this reason, and despite being Mlecchas) honoured as Rishis—how much more a Twice-born who has knowledge of celestial phenomena."²¹

In view of these various indications, it would appear reasonable to suggest at this stage a date for the composition of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole during the period of Indo-Greek rule and presence in India, and before the Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa invasions: namely some time prior to c. A.D. 25. Further indications of the date of composition will be noted when discussing the date of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter (see section 12).

In all of the present manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, the final Aṅga (Aṅga 62) is followed by the statement that the work is ended: but there are then appended some twenty-six additional chapters going under the general name of *mayūracitraka*. The positioning of these chapters as an appendix to the main work, as well as the inconsistency in their ordering, would seem a fair indication that they are not an integral part of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*: although their precise relative antiquity and relationship to the main work, will be difficult to judge until the entire work is edited.

It has already been noted above that Utpala cites a large number of lines from both Garga and Vṛddha-Garga: and that those cited from Garga generally appear in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, while those cited from Vṛddha-Garga do not appear there. Utpala sometimes cites lines from the two authors side by side: in some instances, the passages from Garga and Vṛddha-Garga are almost identical²²—while in other instances, the passages give almost conflicting opinions.²³ Varāhamihira also cites lines from both Garga and Vṛddha-Garga²⁴—the former of which are to be

20 For mention of the Śakas and Yavanas, see for example the *śloka*:
mlecchās trayora yavanā śakāś cinā sapārādāḥ |
kāmbojā kāviṣeyāś ca pulindā darśataskarāḥ ||

21 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 2.14: on the origin and attribution, of this verse, see also Kern's Introduction to the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, p.35. and A. Weber, *Über den Vedakalender*, namens *Jyotiṣa*, p.12.

22 E.g. at *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 11.7.

23 E.g. at *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 32.1-2.

24 For lines from Garga, see note 3 above: from Vṛddha-Garga, e.g. at *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 47.2, 47.22-28.

found in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, while the latter are not; and in one place he states that he is describing the motion of the Seven Rishis according to the opinion of Vṛddha-Garga,²⁵ while this is a topic which finds no mention in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. A clear distinction must thus be drawn between the works of Garga and Vṛddha-Garga.²⁶ It is worth noting here that both Varāhamihira—expounding the teachings of Vṛddha-Garga—and also Vṛddha-Garga himself—in the passages cited by Utpala—list the Seven Rishis as Marici, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha: since this is the list which is first to be found only in the later parts of the *Mahābhārata*, and then subsequently throughout the Purāṇas. In Vedic literature, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the earlier parts of the *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, this list of the Seven Rishis is unknown: and the Rishis are listed instead as Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, and Kaśyapa. The first list, used by Vṛddha-Garga, would seem to have been introduced from southern India, and to have gained general currency only during the first few centuries of the Christian era:²⁷ yet the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in one place gives a list of the Seven Rishis, and it is second or earlier of these two lists which it follows.²⁸ At first sight, therefore, this would suggest either that the author referred to by Varāhamihira and Utpala as Vṛddha-Garga was in fact a later writer than Garga the author of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*,²⁹ or that Vṛddha-Garga was associated with the more central and southern regions of India (whence the “new” list of the Seven Rishis originated). It is not possible at the present time to be clear as to the precise relation between Garga and Vṛddha-Garga: but it is to be hoped that the lines cited by both Varāhamihira and Utpala from

25 *kathayisye vṛddhagargamatāt: Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 13.2.

26 A useful discussion of this topic is to be found in P.V. Kane, ‘Varāhamihira and Utpala, their Works and Predecessors’.

27 On the origins and evolution of the lists, see J.E. Mitchiner, *Traditions of the Seven Rishis*, chs.1-4.

28 The passage appears at the start of Aṅga 56:

ātreya gautamaś caiva bharadvājo 'tha kauśikah |
aṅgīrā jamadagniś ca vasiṣṭhaś ca mahātapāḥ ||
ete maharṣayaḥ sapta sarve vedaviśāradaḥ |
rṣiṇām śreṣṭham āsīnam gargaṃ pricchanti saṃśayam ||

The usual Vedic list has Kaśyapa in place of Aṅgiras, the latter of whom is first connected with the group in the Śrauta Sūtras.

29 Just as the *Vṛddha-Yavanajātaka* was composed by Minarāja about half a century later than the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja: see Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka*, vol.1 p.24.

Vṛddha-Garga will eventually be traced, either in the *mayūracitraka* section appended to the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* (which would suggest that the work of Vṛddha-Garga is no longer extant in its entirety),³⁰ or in one of the other *jyotiṣa works* ascribed to either Garga or Vṛddha-Garga.³¹

30 Kern observed that at least one *śloka* cited by Utpala from Vṛddha-Garga occurs in the *mayūracitraka* section, while many others do not: see his Introduction to the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, pp. 34-35. He was of the very plausible opinion that in many contexts “Garga” and “Vṛddha-Garga” denote the same person, whereas the works ascribed to each are different.

31 To judge by the chapter-titles of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* in which Utpala cites lines from Vṛddha-Garga (see Appendix 2), it would seem that the works listed by Pingree as nos. 2 and 6 should be most seriously considered in this connection (CESS A.2 pp.117-119),

3. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

There are two aspects of authenticity to be dealt with in this section: namely in the first place the authenticity of the text itself, and in the second place the question of whether the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is an integral part of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, as opposed to a later interpolation.

The text of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is on the whole reasonably unitary, and may be divided easily into *ślokas* or stanzas of two lines each. There are, however, three instances where this is not the case. The first instance occurs at *śloka* 31: here it is possible that 31e-f is an interpolation, with 31e being repeated from 29c and with conflicting accounts being given in different manuscripts of 31f; but it is perhaps more likely that 31a-b is an interpolation, since *vanamālin* and *halāyudha* are in other contexts epithets of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa respectively, and not of Yudhiṣṭhira as the present form of the text implies. The second instance occurs at *śloka* 80 where 80c has seemingly been borrowed from 79c; while the third instance occurs at *śloka* 90, where 90e-f seems most likely to be the interpolated line. Aside from these three instances, the text as given below has the impression of being a unitary composition in regular *anuṣṭubh* metre (four *padas* or quarter-verses of eight syllables each in every *śloka*), fully in accord with the form and expression in other parts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. Apart from the many individual word-variants in each manuscript, the only other irregular features to be noted are the several omissions of lines or *ślokas* from individual manuscripts,³² the inclusion of an additional *śloka* in C and D,³³ and the erroneous repetition of part of the account in A and P.³⁴ These latter features are all indicative of the peculiarities of individual manuscripts or manuscript-groups, and do not reflect upon the unitary nature of the text as a whole.

The next question to be considered is whether the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was composed by Garga, or was inserted into the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* at a later period. The *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* refers to itself—and is also referred to in the

Mahābhārata—as being a treatise consisting of sixty-four *aṅgas* or divisions.³⁵ The present form of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* contains sixty-two main divisions, plus two introductory chapters: thus suggesting that the work has undergone little major alternation, and has certainly suffered few major additions. Moreover, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* appears in the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* between the *Tulākośa* and *Sarvabhūtaruta* chapters: while the list of contents to this work states:

te āntike tulākośo bhavaśṛṅgopadhārayet

sarvabhūtarutaṃ caiva tathā puṣpalatāṃ vidhuh

Although the present form *bhavāśṛṅgopadhārayet* is obscure and corrupted in most manuscripts, the chapter in question is evidently related to “worldly existence” (*bhava*), which well describes the contents of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*: and it should be kept in mind that the present manuscripts themselves contain two different names for this chapter (*Yuga-Purāṇa* and *Skanda-Purāṇa*), a discrepancy which suggests that neither need necessarily have been the original name. It is in any case clear that both the table of contents and also the extant form of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* witness to there being only a single chapter between the *Tulākośa* and *Sarvabhūtaruta* chapters—which in the present form is the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter: and unless it were to be supposed that another complete chapter has been omitted and the *Yuga-Purāṇa* inserted in its place, these indications strongly imply that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* constitutes an integral and original part of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*.

It must be noted here that Varāhamihira—although he utilised and adapted much of the material in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in his own *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*—does not seem to have utilised the material in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter. He has equally, however, not utilised the material in several other chapters of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*:³⁶ and it may be pointed out that the material in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* would scarcely have served his purpose in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, while furthermore Varāhamihira’s own views on the Yugas differ somewhat—and are considerably more developed—from those of Garga.³⁷ On the other hand, the *Matsya Purāṇa*—which also makes use of the chapters which almost immediately precede the *Yuga-*

32 Such omissions occur in individual mss. at *ślokas* 44, 45, 51, 55, 58, 59, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 83, 84, 103, 104, 105, 109, and 110.

33 After *śloka* 96.

34 *Ślokas* 56-79 repeated at *śloka* 18.

35 *Mahābhārata* 13.18.25-26: this passage, together with relevant passages and the table of contents in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, is to be found in Appendix 1, together with a full list of the individual chapters.

36 Corresponding chapters of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* are noted alongside the list of individual chapters of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in Appendix 1.

37 See J.E. Mitchiner, *Traditions of the Seven Rishis*, ch.4, and *ibid.*, ‘The Saptarṣi Yuga’, pp.59-60, 83-93.

Purāṇa in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*—does contain material about the Yugas, and also seemingly borrows a complete line from the *Yuga-Purāṇa*:³⁸ thereby suggesting that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was, by at least the period of composition of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, an integral part of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. Similarly, the fact that the *Mahābhārata* refers to the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* of sixtyfour divisions, and also contains material shared with the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, tends to point to much the same conclusion.

Indications have already been noted that the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole was probably composed shortly prior to A.D. 25. It will similarly be noted below that the material in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was composed earlier than corresponding material in the Epics and Purāṇas (section 8); and that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* itself was probably composed around 25 B.C. (section 12). The *Yuga-Purāṇa*, like the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole, knows of the Yavanas and Śakas, but not of the Pahlavas, Kuṣāṇās and other later invaders. Both the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter and the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole would thus seem to have been composed at around the same period: and this consequently further strengthens the likelihood that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is an integral part of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*.

We may finally note that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* conforms to the rest of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in language, form and style.³⁹ The name *Purāṇa*—whether or not it was the original designation of this chapter—is also given to two other divisions of the work: namely the *Graha-Purāṇa* or tradition concerning the planets (Aṅga 30), and the *Bṛhaspati-Purāṇa* or tradition concerning Bṛhaspati/Jupiter (Aṅga 44). It is also to be noted that all extant complete manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* contain the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter: and that no independent manuscripts of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—or of another work containing the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—has so far come to light.⁴⁰

There would seem little reason to doubt, therefore, that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is an authentic and unitary text, which forms an integral and original part of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*.

4. PREVIOUS EDITIONS AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* has been cited and referred to by a number of writers, particularly in connection with the supposed Indo-Greek “invasion” referred to therein. In this section we shall not be concerned with taking note of those various authors who have made use of the data in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, but rather with listing the attempts which have been made to edit and reconstruct the text itself. Appropriate criticisms of these attempts will be made in subsequent sections.

Hendrik Kern first drew attention to this chapter in his Introduction to the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, published in 1865.⁴¹ He was then in possession of a manuscript (K) of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, and cited a number of lines from the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter (see section 5). Little further attention was paid to the text until 1928, when K.P. Jayaswal edited and translated ślokas 36c-92b of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, taking these from two manuscripts (A—Asiatic Society of Bengal—and B—Benares Government Sanskrit College).⁴² Jayaswal subsequently also published a list of variants for these ślokas from a third manuscript in Paris (P—Bibliothèque Nationale), which were sent to him by Sylvain Lévi.⁴³ Just one year later, in 1930, K.H. Dhruva attempted to “reconstruct” Jayaswal’s text, but with (as he himself later admitted) such a high degree of subjective interpretation and conjecture that it need not be considered a serious edition;⁴⁴ while, following two articles by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri⁴⁵ and D.C. Sircar⁴⁶ on the section concerning Śaliśūka, Benimadhab Barua made in 1945 a more modest attempt to reconstruct five lines of the text dealing with Śaliśūka and the advent of

41 *The Bṛhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira*: Bib.Ind.: Calcutta, 1865; Introduction, pp.35-40. The lines were subsequently reprinted and discussed by A. Weber in *Ind.Stud.*, vol.13, 1873, pp.306-7.

42 ‘Historical Data in the Garga-Samhita and the Brahmin Empire’, *JBORS* vol.14, 1928, pp.397-421.

43 ‘The Paris Manuscript of the Garga-Samhita’, *JBORS* vol.15, 1929, pp.129-135.

44 ‘Historical Contents of the Yuga Purana’, *JBORS* vol.16, 1930, pp.18-66.

45 ‘Dharmavijaya and Dhammavijaya’, *CR* February 1943, pp.114-123.

46 ‘Aśoka’s Pacifism and Yugapurāṇa section of the Gārgisamhitā’, *CR* April 1943, pp.39-43.

38 Śloka 115c-d: discussed in section 8.

39 On the language of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, see section 7.

40 For a discussion of extant manuscripts, see section 5,

the Yavanas.⁴⁷ The complete text was only edited for the first time by D.R. Mankad in 1951, following his discovery of a further manuscript (C) procured from Suryashankar Tuljashankar Śāstrī of Joḍiyā in Saurashtra and then in his own possession.⁴⁸ In his edition, Mankad incorporated variant readings from A, B and P (and from the lines of K printed by Kern) for *ślokas* 36c-92b, but he evidently had no first-hand access to these manuscripts; he relied exclusively on C for *ślokas* 29-36b and 92c-115, while for *ślokas* 1-28 he also incorporated variants from a further Poona manuscript (Bh—Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), a transcript of which *ślokas* he received from P.K. Gode of the BORI. A.K. Narain attempted in 1962 to reconstruct the *ślokas* dealing with the Indo-Greeks, on the basis of these editions:⁴⁹ and a similar task was attempted in the following year by D.C. Sircar.⁵⁰ The text of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was republished with a Hindi commentary by S. Tripathi in 1975:⁵¹ this text is taken almost exclusively from Mankad's earlier edition, which was by that time out of print. The text was also published by myself in the following year, incorporating a number of further variant readings from P (particularly for *ślokas* 1-36b and 92c-115), together with the first full English translation of the work:⁵² and I subsequently gave an assessment of the Paris manuscript.⁵³

47 'The Yuga-Purāṇa Legend of Śālīśūka as a Source for a Comedy of Errors in Indian Historical Research', CR April 1945, pp.24-25.

48 *Yugapurāṇam*: Vallabhvidyanagar, 1951; see also his article 'Some Important Sanskrit Manuscripts', *Proceedings of the 7th All-India Oriental Conference*, 1935, pp.11-14.

49 *The Indo-Greeks*, appendix 4, pp.174-179: Oxford, 1962.

50 'The Account of the Yavanas in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1963, pp.7-20; see also his subsequent comments, notably in *Studies in the Yuga-Purāṇa and other Texts*.

51 *Yugapurāṇam*: Chaukhāmba Surbhārati Granthamālā series no.16: Varānasi, 1975.

52 'The Yuga Purāṇa', in M.B. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol.9, appendix 6, pp.918-924: London, 1976.

53 'The Paris Manuscript of the Yuga-Purāṇa', *IAVRI Bulletin* no.4, 1978, pp.18-21.

5. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

We have until now had to rely upon four complete manuscripts of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter (A, B, C and P): together with one manuscript containing less than a quarter of the chapter (Bh), and one account of certain lines from a further manuscript (K). Of these six, manuscripts A, B, Bh and P remain in their previous locations: although the provenance of A has changed its name from "the Asiatic Society of Bengal" to "the Asiatic Society", Calcutta; while that of B has changed from "the Benares Government Sanskrit College" via "the Banaras Sanskrit University" to "the (Vārāṇaseya) Sampūrṇānand Saṃskṛita Viśvavidyālaya". For the sake of clarity, I have referred to the latter as the Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University. It is also to be noted that the reference-numbers for manuscripts A, B, Bh and P have been either modified or completely changed from those given in previous accounts (see below). Manuscript C, which was formerly in D.R. Mankad's personal possession, is now in the collection of the Gangajala Vidyapeeth—an Institute founded by himself—at Aliyavada in Saurashtra, Gujarat. Manuscript K, which was formerly in H. Kern's personal possession (in 1865), has unfortunately since been lost: this fact was communicated by L.D. Barnett—then at the British Museum—to W.W. Tarn around 1937.⁵⁴ Since Kern edited the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*—in which he cited his manuscript of the *Gārgiṇya-jyotiṣa* containing the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter—while he was attached to the Sanskrit College in Banaras, it is clear that his manuscript was at that time in India: but his readings differ from those in any of the manuscripts presently available.⁵⁵ The loss is, however, not altogether catastrophic: as Kern himself pointed out,⁵⁶ his manuscript was mutilated and very carelessly copied; and its readings in fact differ little essentially from those in manuscripts A, J, P and Q, which are themselves the least well-preserved (see below).

54 See Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, appendix 4 p.453: Cambridge, 1936.

55 I am grateful to Mr. J.P. Losty, Assistant Keeper of Sanskrit Manuscripts at the British Library, for searching through correspondence files in an attempt to throw further light on the apparent loss of this manuscript.

56 Introduction to the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, p.35.

While preparing this edition of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, I spent several months contacting and visiting a large number of manuscript libraries and collections in various parts of India in an attempt to find further manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* containing the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter. This has resulted in bringing to light a further eight such manuscripts. Seven of these manuscripts contain the complete *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter: three of these are at the National Library in Calcutta (D, L and N); two are at the Alwar branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (Q and R); one is at the Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya of Banaras Hindu University (H); and one is at the Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University (S). The eighth manuscript is missing only the first 19 *śloka*s of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, and is at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (J). With the exception of manuscript J, which contains only a fragment of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, all of these manuscripts—like manuscripts A, B, C and P (and also Bh, less the folios containing much of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter)—contain the complete *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*: sometimes with the omission of one or two folios, particularly at the very end of the work. It is to be noted that no manuscripts of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter have yet been found which are separate from or independent of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*: not have any complete manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* been found which omit the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter.⁵⁷

It may also be noted here that there are a number of incomplete manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, containing between 5 and 120 folios, but not containing the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in addition

57 There is one manuscript at the National Library in Calcutta (Th 218) which contains a number of chapters of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, but also omits many others (including the *Yuga-Purāṇa*) and is clearly a late adaptation: it extends from the *Bhuvanapuṣkara* to the *Nakṣatrapuruṣa* chapters, but omits Aṅgas 40-41 and 43-54 (see Appendix 1).

58 These are primarily as follows:

- a. Banaras, Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā: no. 6634, *jyotiṣa* no.75: folios 1-50, 52.
- b. Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University: no. 34617: folios 1-5.
- c. Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University: no. 36369: folios 1-49.
- d. Calcutta, National Library: no. Th 164: folios 99-100, 172-175.
- e. Calcutta, National Library: no. Th 218 (see last note).
- f. Calcutta, Sanskrit College: no. IX.4: folios 1-113.
- g. Cambridge, Trinity College: no. R.15.96: folios 1-109.
- h. Kathmandu, Vir Library: no. 301 (I 1179): *Mayūracitra* 1-9.
- i. Kathmandu, Vir Library: no. 302 (I 1539): *Mayūracitra*, 26 folios.
- j. Lahore, Panjab University Library: no. 3956: folios 41-92.
- k. Poona, Fergusson College: Mandlik Collection, catalogue p.73: folios 1-61.
- l. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek: no. M.a.I. 399A: folios 1-43.

to the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, there are to be found many further manuscripts of other *jyotiṣa* works entitled *Garga-* or *Gārgya-saṃhitā* or similar:⁵⁹ as also many manuscripts of a *purāṇic*-type work entitled *Garga-saṃhitā*.⁶⁰ It is unfortunately the case that several manuscripts which are classified in individual catalogues—as also in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*—as *jyotiṣa* works are in fact copies of the *purāṇic* work.⁶¹

Appendix 3 contains a list of the manuscript collections consulted during the course of research for the present work: and it may be asserted with reasonable confidence that none of these collections presently contains (further) manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. There are, however, several additional known manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* which I have been unable to consult for this work, some of which are likely to contain the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter:⁶² and it is to be hoped that other manuscripts of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*—with or without the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter—may yet come to light, either in further institutions or in private collection.⁶³

The manuscripts on which the present edition of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is based are as follows:

A Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1).

No.: 1 D 20.

Folios: 101-105 (from a total of 160 folios).

Lines per page: 25 to 27, except folio 102 (lines 113-159) where 20-21.

59 An excellent account of these is to be found in David Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, Series A vol.2 pp.116-120, and Series A vol.3 pp.29-30.

60 See the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, ed. V. Raghavan, vol.5 pp.331-332.

61 This is notably the case with the following manuscripts:

- a. Allahabad, State Archives of Uttar Pradesh: nos. 3572, 6214, 9054.
- b. Darbhanga, Kāmeśvara Singh Sanskrit University: no. 1755, Raj no. 89 (1).
- c. Kota, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute: no. 249.
- d. Ujjain, Scindia Oriental Institute: no. 3265.

62 These manuscripts are as follows:

- a. Bombay, University Library, Itchhārām Sūryarām Desai Collection: no. 1433: 398 pages
- b. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: no. 36 of 1874/75: 79 folios, from *bhuvanapuṣkara* chapter.
- c. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: no. 345 of 1879/80: folios 1-239.
- d. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: no. 549 of 1875/76: 78 folios.

63 There remains a wide scope in respect of private collections: and it should be remembered that many of the collections listed in appendix 2 are constantly being augmented from such sources.

Paper: yellowish-white, medium wove.
 Writing: black ink, often careless: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 9.3" × 6.6".
 Date: no date: title-page of ms. signed "College of Fort William, 1825"; ? c. A.D. 1750.
 Further comments: restored and coated by the Asiatic Society: bound.

B Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University, Varanasi (1).
 No.: 36370.
 Folios: 93-95 (from a total of 140 folios)
 Lines per page: 14.
 Paper: white, medium wove.
 Writing: black ink, clear: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 13.2" × 7.1".
 Date: no date: ? c. A.D. 1800.
 Further comments: folio 92, containing *ślokas* 1-4, missing.

Bh Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
 No.: 542 of 1895-1902, new no. 12 section.
 Folios: 193-194.
 Lines per page: 9.
 Paper: white, fairly thick.
 Writing: black ink, heavy and thick: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 11.0" × 6.5".
 Date: Saṃvat 1881 / A.D. 1825.
 Further comments: contains only *ślokas* 1-28: folios 195-199 missing.

C Gangajala Vidyapeeth, Aliyavada, Gujarat.
 No.: 127.
 Folios: 156-160 (from a total of 241 folios).
 Lines per page: 11.
 Paper: white, medium to thick wove, coarse.
 Writing: black ink, thick: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 10.0" × 5.5".
 Date: Saṃvat 1919 / A.D. 1863.
 Further comments: a large number of marginal corrections.

D National Library, Calcutta (1).
 No.: Th 319.
 Folios: 188-193 (from a total of 295 folios).
 Lines per page: 13.
 Paper: white, fairly thick wove.
 Writing: black ink, mostly thick and neat: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 8.3" × 6.9".
 Date: no date: ? c. A.D. 1700.
 Further comments: folios are stamped with the seal of the Dr. Bhau Daji Memorial, Bombay.

H Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.
 No.: 2 B/1288, Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya no. 34.
 Folios: 144-148 (from a total of 227 folios).
 Lines per page: 8.
 Paper: off-white, medium to thick wove.
 Writing: black ink, thin: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 11.5" × 5.0".
 Date: Saṃvat 1939 / A.D. 1883.
 Further comments: nil.

J Asiatic Society, Calcutta (2).
 No.: 8199 (IV).
 Folios: 54-57.
 Lines per page: 9.
 Paper: off-white, medium wove.
 Writing: black ink, small characters: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 11.0" × 5.0".
 Date: no date: ? c. A.D. 1800.
 Further comments: *ślokas* 1-19 missing: the ms. is only a fragment, from *yuga-purāṇa* to *lopārūta*.

K H. Kern.
 As noted earlier, the manuscript is now missing. In his Introduction to the Bibliotheca Indica edition of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (Calcutta, 1865), pp.36-39, Kern cited *ślokas* 40-48, 52, 56c-58, and 62-64 of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* from this ms. He described the ms. as a whole as being "not only mutilated, but also extremely incorrect and carelessly copied; the omission of words and whole passages is of but too frequent occurrence".

- L National Library, Calcutta (2).
 No.: Th 171.
 Folios: 96-98 (from a total of 147 folios).
 Lines per page: 17.
 Paper: white, thick wove.
 Writing: black ink, large and sprawling: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 15.5" × 8.0".
 Date: no date: ? c. A.D. 1800.
 Further comments: many different copyists throughout: guidelines ruled in pencil.
- N National Library, Calcutta (3).
 No.: Th 216.
 Folios: 148-152 (from a total of 228 folios).
 Lines per page: 8.
 Paper: mostly off-white but several yellow folios; fairly thick wove.
 Writing: black ink, sometimes blotched, small and neat: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 11.75" × 4.75".
 Date: no date: ? c. A.D. 1750.
 Further comments: nil.
- P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
 No.: 245.
 Folios: (pages) 129-134 (from a total of 208 pages).
 Lines per page: 29 to 31.
 Paper: yellow, thick wove, smooth.
 Writing: black ink, fairly thick, blotched in places: Bengali script.
 Size: 11.6" × 8.7".
 Date: no date: obtained by J.M.F. Guérin in 1833 from Chandernagar, and used by him in *Astronomie Indienne*, p.67 (Paris, 1847): ? c. A.D. 1800.
 Further comments: bound with five other shorter texts: numbered by page, not folio: marginal notes by Guérin: colophon at end of ms. states that it was copied [from a ms. copied] by Kumārānanda in Śaka 1460 / A.D.1538.

- Q Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Alwar (1).
 No.: 2603.
 Folios: 125-129 (from a total of 186 folios).
 Lines per page: 11.
 Paper: yellowish-white, thick wove.
 Writing: black ink, thick and large: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 13.8" × 7.2".
 Date: Śaṃvat 1912 / A.D. 1856.
 Further comments: "written by the Brahmin Nāthurāma and presented to the Mahārāja's library in Śaṃvat 1912" (at end of ms.).
- R Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Alwar (2).
 No.: 2602.
 Folios: 156-161 (from a total of 245 folios).
 Lines per page: 12.
 Paper: white, thin wove, glossy.
 Writing: black ink, slanted and sprawling: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 12.2" × 5.8".
 Date: no date: ? c. A.D. 1775.
 Further comments: nil.
- S Banaras (Sampūrṇānand) Sanskrit University, Varanasi (2).
 No.: 35311.
 Folios: 101-106 (from a total of 201 folios).
 Lines per page: 13.
 Paper: off-white and brown, medium wove.
 Writing: black ink, generally clear: Devanāgarī script.
 Size: 9.5" × 6.3".
 Date: Śaṃvat 1912 / A.D. 1856.
 Further comments: folios are numbered 1-27 (start to *śukracāra*), 1-2 (*śukracāra*), and 1-201 (*vātacakra* to end).

These various manuscripts fall into several distinct groups—as will be evident from examining the critical apparatus and variants to the text. Manuscripts Bh and R (Poona and Alwar) are very closely linked with each other, and on several occasions contain complete words which differ from those in other manuscripts.⁶⁴ Manuscripts C and D (Aliyavada in

⁶⁴ For example at *śloka*s 1, 7, 9, 13, 29, 31, 73, 94, and 106.

western Gujarat, and Calcutta—but originally from Bombay) are similarly closely linked with each other, and often contain words or forms—and even a complete *śloka*—differing from those in all other manuscripts.⁶⁵ Manuscripts B, H, L, N and S (Banaras and Calcutta) are also closely linked with each other: while they also share a number of variant readings with C and D. The remaining manuscripts A, J (Calcutta), K (Kern: possibly from Banaras, where he was based), P (Paris, but from Bengal), and Q (Alwar) together form a further distinct group: they generally contain the poorest readings, and often contain either variant word-forms⁶⁶ or the omission of lines⁶⁷ in common. They also on several occasions share readings with B-H-L-N-S: and less frequently share readings with either Bh-R or C-D. Manuscripts P (in Bengali script) and A are the two most closely allied to each other in this group: both contain a long repetition of *ślokas* 56-79 interpolated at *śloka* 18—this in A consists of one entire folio written by a different hand (possibly from the earlier manuscript from which A was copied) which has evidently been misplaced and erroneously inserted at that point, while in P the interpolation appears as an integral and continuous part of the text. This feature suggests either that P was copied from A: or perhaps more likely—in view of the further minor divergences between A and P—that both A and P were copied from a common original which contained this interpolated repetition. In view of the statement in the final colophon of P, this common original would accordingly have been the copy made by Kumārānanda in Śaka 1460 = A.D. 1538 (see above).

It may be seen, therefore, that manuscripts Bh-R and C-D generally contain the best readings: despite also containing on several occasions individual bad readings or omissions. Manuscripts B-H-L-N-S similarly contain many good readings, which are sometimes better than those in Bh-R and C-D—particularly where these latter have omissions or textual corruption. Manuscripts A-J-K-P-Q, on the other hand, contain the largest number of errors, and are rarely to be relied upon for containing the best readings of the text. These manuscript-groups may be set out as follows:

65 E.g. at *ślokas* 8, 13, 34, 37, 91, 92, 94, and 98: also the *śloka* inserted after *śloka* 96, and the name *Skanda-Purāṇa* in place of *Yuga-Purāṇa*.

66 E.g. at *ślokas* 2, 7, 9, 15, 25, 28, 30, 37, 52, 68, 73, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 94, 98, 102, 108, and 114.

67 E.g. in *ślokas* 55, 74, and 103-105.

	BETTER READINGS					WORSE READINGS				
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4		Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	
	Bh (Poona)	C (Aliyavāda, Gujarat)	B (Banaras)	A (Calcutta)		A (Calcutta)	J (Calcutta)	K (? Banaras)	P (Paris, ex Chandernagar)	Q (Alwar)
	R (Alwar)	D (Calcutta, ex Bombay)	H (Banaras)	L (Calcutta)						
			N (Calcutta)	S (Banaras)						

6. THE STRUCTURE OF THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

The basic structure of the text is fairly straightforward, and may be set out as follows:

<i>śloka</i>	1- 5	Introduction
	6- 14	Kṛta Yuga: ending with the Tāraka war
	15- 22	Tretā Yuga: ending with the destruction of Kṣatriyas by Rāma
	23- 36	Dvāpara Yuga: ending with the Mahābhārata war
	37- 91	Kali Yuga: ending with the destruction of the evil world-order
	92- 97	Transition at the end of the Yuga
	98-113	Twelve Regions where men survive for a new Yuga
	114-115	Conclusion

Within the section on the Kali Yuga, the situation becomes slightly more complex: since it would seem that the account is not in the form of a straightforward and continuous narrative, but that it contains repetitions of certain events.⁶⁸ *Śloka* 37-48, down to the advent of the Yavanas are straightforward: then there are seven *śloka*s on the evils of the Kali Yuga (49-55), after which the narrative returns to the departure of the Yavanas (56-57). There next follows an account of seven kings in Sāketa, and of war among the peoples of Magadha (58-60): and then a brief account is given of the destruction of the Agniveśyas and of the Śaka king (61-64). The narrative then describes the desolation of Pāṭaliputra (65), and the brief reign of Āmrāta in that city (66-70b): these *śloka*s may in fact belong with the preceding *śloka*s (61-64) of summary account—a possibility which will be discussed in section 10-F. There next follows an account of the Agniveśya kings (70c-81): then there are a further five *śloka*s on the evils of the Kali Yuga (82-86); after which the narrative continues with the destruction of king Satuvāra (87), and the incursion of the Śakas (88-89)—followed finally by the state of affairs at the end of the Kali Yuga (90-91). The structure of the section on the Kali Yuga may accordingly be set out as follows:

THE STRUCTURE OF THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

29

<i>śloka</i>	37-39	Janamejaya Pārīkṣit	
	40-43	Udāyin and the founding of Pāṭaliputra	
	44-46	Śaliśūka in Pāṭaliputra	
	47-48	Incursion of the Yavanas to Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra	
	49-55	Evils of society at the end of the Kali Yuga	
	56-57	Departure of the Yavanas	
	58-59	Seven kings of Sāketa	
	60	War among the Magadha peoples	
	61	Destruction of the Agniveśya kings	} SUMMARY
	62-64	Destruction of the Śaka king	
	65	Desolation of Pāṭaliputra	
	66-70b	Āmrāta in Pāṭaliputra	
	70c-81	Kings Gopāla, Puṣpaka, Anarāya and Vikuyaśa in Pāṭaliputra, and kings Agnimitra and Agniveśya in the Bhadrakā land	
	82-86	Evils of society at the end of the Kali Yuga	
	87	Destruction of king Satuvāra	
	88-89	Incursion of the Śakas	
	90-91	Drought, famine, fear and the end of the Yuga	

68 This analysis consequently differs from those of Jayaswal and Mankad, both of whom interpreted the account as being chronologically continuous.

7. THE LANGUAGE OF THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

The present manuscripts of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* contain a considerable number of textual variants and errors. The primary aim of a critical edition of the text is to attempt to reconstruct what was probably the original form of the account: but such a reconstruction faces several problems in the case of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—not least because there are many indications that the original account was composed not in regular classical Sanskrit but rather in a form of Sanskrit which incorporates certain hybrid features. Moreover, individual manuscripts and manuscript-groups have themselves also been influenced by Prakritic or hybrid-Sanskritic forms; and it is on occasions difficult to decide whether such form represents variants and errors in particular manuscripts and manuscript-groups—acquired through the process of transmission—or irregular linguistic features of the original account. To give but one example: should the irregular *sandhi* form *rājāno kṛtavigrahāḥ* at *śloka* 61—which is given in all but one of the present manuscripts—be left as it stands, or should it be “corrected” to the classical Sanskrit *rājānaḥ kṛtavigrahāḥ* which is given in only a single manuscript? The main criterion which has been adopted in constructing the critical text has been to follow as a rule either the evidence of the majority of manuscripts, or on many occasions the evidence of the more reliable manuscripts—notably Bh, C, D and R (see section 5)—when this conflicts with the majority reading; while in cases of serious doubt, a “correct” classical Sanskrit form has been preferred—rightly or wrongly—to any alternative form. This method clearly has its shortcomings: and therefore, when discussing the language of the text, it is often necessary to take account also of the “variants” which are found in individual manuscripts—and which in some cases constitute an overwhelming majority of manuscript readings.⁶⁹

As can be seen from examining the critical apparatus, there occur a large number of scribal errors throughout the manuscripts. Omission of *visarga* and *anusvāra* is fairly common: this is frequently the case at the

end of lines and *ślokas*, but scarcely less so within lines. In many instances such omissions are doubtless due to scribal error: but in some instances, the omission of *visarga* may be the result of irregular *sandhi* conventions—as for example *śaktidhanu skandaḥ* (*śloka* 1a), *samavasthā prajāvibho* (3d), *vaiśyā śūdrāḥ* (19c-d and 50a-b), *gaṅgāsīnā sudāruṇāḥ* (60b), *puruṣā striyaḥ* (85d), and *śūla purogamaḥ* (110b). By contrast, *visarga* is occasionally incorrectly inserted both within individual words (e.g. *narāḥs*, 28c) and also at the end of the first member of compounded words (e.g. *daṇḍaḥpradhānatā*, 9d: *śālīḥśūka*, 44d). All manuscripts frequently confuse similar letters: notably *ba*, *va*, and *ca*; *na* and *ta*; and *bha*, *ya*, *pa*, and *ma*. Such stylistic features as the doubling of consonants, particularly after *r*, are also fairly common—these being features which are reasonably characteristic of Sanskrit manuscripts in general. Among the more important scribal errors for present purposes is the writing of *āmemitra* (with variants *āpre*^o, *śrāme*^o, *gnāme*^o etc.) at *śloka* 77b, where *agnimitra* is demanded by the context. The incorrect form *āgne*^o in place of *agni*^o (आग्ने^o in place of अग्नि^o) is also found at 80a (*āgne-veśya*), where the correct form *agniveśya* is nonetheless given in most manuscripts: while the incorrect substitution of *ma* for *gna* is a simple copyist's error similar to a further error in 80a (*amniveśya* in place of *agniveśya*). In the case of 77b, there is also the supporting evidence of Kern who read *agnimitra* in his manuscript.⁷⁰

A further very common error, which characterises and recurs throughout the accounts in manuscripts B, H, N and S, is the writing of *ścha* in place of *śtha*. This phenomenon does not seem to have arisen from any phonological change, but rather due to a confusion between Devanāgarī and Brāhmī forms: whence the Brāhmī ॐ *tha* became confused with Brāhmī ॐ *cha*, and developed into Devanāgarī ॐ *cha* rather than ॐ *tha*. Within these manuscripts, indeed, the form of this character is frequently written as ॐ; and this consequently suggests that the account was at one time—and therefore, in all likelihood, originally—written in Brāhmī script.

Finally, one major error which appears in manuscripts A and P involves the repetition of part of the account—more specifically, the erroneous insertion at *śloka* 18 of one version of *ślokas* 56-79. This has come about in A with one folio ending *prajāpā*^o of 18a, whereafter the next folio commences with *pārthivāḥ* of 56b and continues from that point

69 For a discussion of principles underlying the critical editing of texts, see e.g. Biarreau, ‘Some more considerations about textual criticism’, and the Prolegomena, pp. xxxi-cvii, to vol. 1 (*Ādi Parvan*) of the *Mahābhārata* Critical Edition.

70 See his Introduction to the Bib. Ind. edition of Varāhamibira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, p. 39.

to *tasyā°* of 80a where the folio ends: and the next folio then commences by reverting to *lanadakṣāś* of 18a, and continuing with the straightforward account. In manuscript A, therefore, this repetition merely involves the erroneous insertion—on the part of a compiler—of one entire folio: and this is confirmed by the fact that the inserted folio (no. 102) has been written by a different copyist, in cruder and larger letters than those in the surrounding folios. In manuscript P, however, this insertion—which involves precisely the same passage and word-divisions—appears not with a change of folios but rather as a continuous and consecutive part of the text: thus suggesting, as has already been pointed out in section 5, that P was copied either directly from A or else from the same earlier manuscript as that from which A was copied. In either event, this insertion shows A and P to be very closely related to each other: a relation which is amply confirmed by the many further features and variants shared by these two manuscripts.

Turning from manuscript errors to a consideration of unusual features shared by many or all of the manuscripts, notice may first be taken of the very frequent retention of *anusvāra*, which—as in many Sanskrit manuscripts—virtually always replaces nasals in combination with consonants, as also final *-m*. The only exceptions to this appear firstly in manuscript P, which often writes nasals (excepting *m*), and secondly on isolated occasions in other manuscripts. In several instances, manuscript errors can be seen to have come about due to this retention of *anusvāra* (e.g. *kiṃ vāyuṣaḥ* in place of *kiṃ āyusaḥ* in *śloka* 2): and it would seem very likely that this use of *anusvāra* was a feature of the original account. Its use has accordingly been retained in the critical text.

All manuscripts contain a considerable number of both vowel and consonantal changes. In many instances, these can safely be ascribed to scribal error: but in certain other cases, particularly within manuscript-groups, these changes would seem indicative of the influence of Prakritic or hybrid-Sanskritic forms. Changes in vowel-quality—namely both lengthening and shortening of vowels, and also the irregular appearance of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* forms—are to be found in all manuscripts: and they are especially characteristic of manuscripts A, J, K, P and Q—namely those which belong to the least reliable group of manuscripts (group 4), and which are presently located predominantly in eastern India. The lengthening of short *i*, on the other hand, is a feature especially characteristic of manuscript C, which is presently located in western Gujarat: notable examples of this are *prāṇinām* (2b, 24b), *astī* (9a, 25b), *niḥkṣatrīyā* (22d), *parikṣij* (38b), *nāśayīṣyati* (69b), *samu[pai]ṣyati* (80d), *bhaviṣyati*

(82d), *karīṣyati* (83a), *striyo* (86a), and *dhāray[i]ṣyanti* (98c). Such features as the changes of *r* to *a* (e.g. *katānte*, 22b: *napo*, 69b) and of *r* to *u* (e.g. *suṣṭe*, 100a) appear only in the eastern group of manuscript: while on the other hand the change of *r* to *ra* in *pṛthivī* appears in several manuscripts (Bh, 20d & 27b: B, H, N and S, 40d), but in none belonging to group 4—although two manuscripts of that group (A and P) contain the similar change of *dr̥ḍha°* to *drada°* (54b). The converse change of *ra* to *r* in *prathita* appears especially in manuscript D (26d, 38c, 40d, 48b, 53c). Consonantal changes of *l* to *r* (e.g. *kārasya*, 28d: also *śarara* and *śavara*, 80c & 81a, but *śabala* in 63c), of *s* to *ś* (*āśīd*, 6b: *śahasra*, 24c, 42c, 76c: *kailāśaśaṅkāśo*, 31a: *śaṃsaya*, 38d, 42d, 50d, 54d, 64b, 92b: *kuṣuma*, 47d: *sudāruṇa*, 59d: *pipāśā*, 99c, 109c: et.al.), and further sibilant changes of quality are also strongly characteristic of the eastern group of manuscripts. The change of *-kṣya-* to *-kṣa-*, however—which regularly occurs in the future formations of verbal stems in *-c* and *-j*—is a feature characteristic sometimes of all manuscripts (*tyakṣanti*, 24d: *pakṣanti*, 28c), or on other occasions of nearly all manuscripts (*bhokṣanti*, 55d: *vimokṣati*, 78d: *upayokṣati*, 92d). Many of the phonological changes which appear in either some or all of these manuscripts are features which are characteristic of hybrid forms of Sanskrit, as found in certain epigraphical and Buddhist contexts:⁷¹ and it would seem both that parts of the original account and also that particular manuscript-groups (notably group 4) contain features which witness to the influence of hybrid-Sanskritic forms over the formulation and subsequent transmission of the text.

A further somewhat unusual feature of the text is the preservation of hiatus. This occurs not only between different *padas*, as is sometimes the case in Epic and Purāṇic Sanskrit (6a-b, 8a-b, 17c-d, 21a-b, 34c-d, 54a-b, 73a-b, 77a-b, 90c-d, 111c-d, and 112c-d), but also within *padas* (*pañca ahorātrā*, 43c: *dharmavādī adhārmikah*, 45d: *ca iti*, 88d). Such hiatus are in all cases necessary for the preservation of metre: and it is therefore clear that this use of hiatus was a feature of the original account.

Individual manuscripts contain on occasions words which are quite different from those appearing in other manuscripts. This is particularly the case with manuscript C, D and R: and it emphasises the

71 Such forms are listed especially in Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, and in Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*. I have compiled a full list of phonological changes for the present text, which is available to anyone interested in pursuing their further study.

independent evolution of different manuscripts and manuscript-groups. The following examples of word-changes may be especially noted:

śaktidhanuḥ for *śaktidharaḥ* (1a: A,C,D,H,L,N,P,Q,S; 4b: D,H,L,N,S)

na mṛtyur na ca for *na ca mṛtyur na* (7b: A,B,D,H,L,N,P,Q,S)

na ca kṣudhā for *na kṣudratā* (9b: Bh,R)

°gandharvasūdane for *°gandharvakinnaraiḥ* (13b: C)

°gandharvas tathā namaḥ for *°gandharvakinnaraiḥ* (13b: A,B,H,L,N,P,Q,S)

kāraṇe ṛṣibhiḥ for *sadevaṛṣibhiḥ* (13c: C,D)

abhavan for *aśaṭhā* (17d: Bh,R)

punaḥ for *yugaṃ* (23d: A,B,D,H,J,L,N,P,Q,S)

saṃbhaviṣyati for *samutpatsyati* (29d: R)

dharāyudhaḥ for *halāyudhaḥ* (31b: C)

kurunām for *caturbhir* (31f: R)

śānte ca for *praśānte* (37b: C,D)

kaliyugasyānte for *kaliyugasyādaḥ* (38a: B,D,H,L,N,S)

kaliyuge śānte for *kaliyugasyādaḥ* (38a: C)

viṃśatāḥ for *ca śatāḥ* (43a: L)

yavanāś ca suvikrāntāḥ for *yavanā yuddhavikrāntāḥ* (47c: C)

yuddhāruṇā for *sudāruṇām* (59d: R)

gamiṣyati for *bhaviṣyati* (64d: R)

na saṃśayaḥ for *mahābalāḥ* (67d: C)

saṃvatsarāṇ pañca for *saṃvatsaram rājyaṃ* (72c: C,D)

rāṣṭram for *rājyaṃ* (74d: D)

vikramaṃ for *viGRAhaṃ* (78b: B,C,D,H,L,N,S)

triṃśad for *viṃśad* (80a: N)

catvarbhāgaṃ for *caturbhāgaṃ* (89a: A,J,P,Q)

pāpakṛte for *pāpakṣaye* (91a: C,D)

vipāśāyām for *viśikhāyām* (94a: R)

vetravatyām viśikhāyām for *viśikhāyām vetravatyām* (94a-b: C,D)

śamadamakṣamāyo for *śamakṣamadamās* (95a: R)

nālān for *bālān* (97a: A,J,P)

brāhmaṇān for *bālān* (97a: B)

yāsyanti for *sthāsyanti* (99d: A,B,D,H,J,L,N,P,Q,S)

prāñjala smṛtaḥ for *pālapanjaraḥ* (103b: D)

dvijātayaḥ for *bījāni* (104c: R)

vasantaḥ for *maṇḍale* (106b: R)

bhokṣyanti for *sakṣyanti* (108c: R)

bhaviṣyante for *sakṣyanti* (108c: C,D)

setuṃ tariṣyanti for *ye tu carīṣyanti* (114c: C)

skandapurāṇa for *yugapurāṇa* (as name of chapter: C,D)

Looking next at certain stylistic features of the text, the most noticeable of these is that the account is composed partly in the past tense (*śloka*s 1-27), and partly in the future tense (*śloka*s 28-114). This latter use of the future tense constitutes the style which is also generally found in passages speaking of the Kali Yuga in the Epics and Purāṇas: the reason for this being that such passages—as indeed the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas in general—profess to have been uttered or revealed around the start of the Kali Yuga, whence their descriptions of the Kali Yuga are phrased in the form of prophecies. The *Mahābhārata* was traditionally first recited during the reign of Janamejaya Pāriṣit: while the Purāṇas claim to have been uttered during the reigns of either Pāriṣit (especially the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*) or Adhisimakṛṣṇa, the fourth successor of Pāriṣit (most of the other Purāṇas). Accordingly, therefore, events prior to such times are generally related in the past tense, while events subsequent to those times are generally related in the future tense. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* consequently differs from these other sources in phrasing its accounts of both the Mahābhārata war and the reign of Janamejaya Pāriṣit also in the future tense. This suggests that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account was composed before such a convention of the precise dividing-point between past and future time became widely established: and it further suggests yet again, therefore, that the account in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is earlier than those in the Epics and Purāṇas.

To summarise the main points noted in this section, it may be said that a number of unusual or irregular features can be observed in the language of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*. In some instances, these are due to scribal error or to variant features of particular manuscripts or manuscript-groups: while in other instances, they are due to particular characteristics of the original account—as for example in the cases of hiatus, of irregular *sandhi*, and of certain phonological changes. A number of phonological changes in individual manuscripts and manuscript-groups seem to be due to either Prakritic or hybrid-Sanskritic influence over textual transmission: thus implying that the account was in several cases (notably in that of manuscripts belonging to group 4) handed down among peoples whose own language was not Sanskrit but either a Prakrit or a hybrid form of Sanskrit, and whose knowledge of Sanskrit was accordingly influenced by such further forms of language. As far as the original account is concerned, there would seem little evidence to support one of the suggestions made by Jayaswal—which may have been influenced not a little by

the views of Pargiter on the originally "Prakrit" form of Purāṇic genealogies in general—that the account was originally composed in pure Prakrit. On the other hand, there does seem more than adequate evidence to suggest that the original account contained hybrid-Sanskritic features: namely features arising from a mixture of Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan forms (comparable with Jayaswal's alternative suggestion of an original in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit). The language of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is clearly more Sanskritised than many of the hybrid forms of Sanskrit which are to be found in certain epigraphical and Buddhist contexts: but it nonetheless deviates in a number of ways from classical forms of Sanskrit, and exhibits features which—as in the cases of irregular *sandhi*, hiatus, and certain phonological changes—are more akin to Middle Indo-Aryan forms of language.

Given, then, that the language of the original account contains features which show it to have been influenced by a hybrid form of Sanskrit, this in turn carries several further implications. In the first place, this—together with the indication noted earlier that the account was at one time (hence probably originally) written in Brāhmī script—considerably lessens and even discounts any possibility that the account might have been a somewhat later, perhaps medieval, composition: since, had that been the case, such a medieval composition would in all probability not have demonstrated the irregular features of language which are to be found in this account. In the second place, it once again suggests that the original account was composed most probably between the first century B.C. and the fifth century A.D.: since that was the period when such a hybrid form of Sanskrit is known to have flourished.⁷² This latter conclusion will again be referred to in assessing the date of composition of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* (section 12).

8. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN THE YUGA-PURĀṆA AND OTHER WORKS

There are a number of textual correspondences between the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and the Epics and Purāṇas: notably in those contexts in the latter works in which the Yugas are discussed.⁷³ The most notable of these correspondences may be set out as follows:

1. *kim āyusaḥ parimāṇaṁ kiṁ śarīraṁ ca prāṇinām |*
kiṁ vīryaṁ tapasāś caiva bhaviṣyati yugakṣaye ||
kiṁ pramāṇaṁ yugotsarge dharmāś cāpi yuge yuge | (śloka 2-3)

compare:

- (a) *kim vīryā mānavās tatra kim āhāra vihāriṇaḥ |*
kim āyusaḥ kiṁ vāsanā bhaviṣyanti yugakṣaye ||
(Mahābhārata 188.6)
- (b) *kim karmāṇaḥ kim īhantaḥ kiṁ pramāṇaḥ kim āyusaḥ |*
(Harivaṁśa 117.2, Brahma Purāṇa 230.43)

2. *etac chrutvā śubhāṁ vācam (var. śubhaṁ vākyaṁ) skandasyākliṣṭa-*
karmaṇaḥ |
uvāca bhagavān devaḥ svayaṁ śaktidharaṁ prabhuḥ || (śloka 4)

compare:

- (a) *tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā rāmasyākliṣṭakarmaṇaḥ |*
avākṣirās tathā bhūto vākyaṁ etad uvāca ha ||
(Rāmāyaṇa 7.67.1)
- (b) *tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā rājñō dīnasya nāradaḥ |*
pratyuvāca śubhaṁ vākyaṁ ṛṣiṇāṁ sannidhau nṛpaṁ ||
(Rāmāyaṇa 7.65.7)

73 The principal accounts examined are as follows: *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.65.7-26; *Mahābhārata* 3.186-189; *Harivaṁśa* 116.1-40, 117.1-52; (Purāṇas) *Bhāgavata* 12.1.39-43, 12.2.1-44; *Bhaviṣya* 1.25-27, 1.44.1-33; *Brahma* 229-230; *Brahmāṇḍa* 2.3.74.200-276, 3.4.1; *Brahmavaivarta* 2.7.1-73; *Devībhāgavata* 9.8.1-110; *Garuḍa* 223.1-37; *Kūrma* 1.27-28; *Līṅga* 1.39-40; *Mārkaṇḍeya* 49.1-80; *Matsya* 142-145, 273; *Nārada* 1.41; *Padma* 2.37.19-39, 2.99.22-44, 2.125.14-50, 4.110.390-409, 5.36.28-50, 6.229.4-11; *Saura* 33; *Skanda* 1.2.40.173-276, 6.27, 6.272, 7.3.10; *Vāyu* 2.37.382-458, 2.38; *Viṣṇu* 4.24.71-123; also *Mānava Dharma Śāstra (Manu)* 1.60-86.

72 See e.g. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, pp.1-7, 10; Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*, pp.1, 263-266.

- (c) *etac chrutvā tato vākyam brahmaṇo 'vyaktajanmanah /*
(*Skanda Purāṇa* 7.3.10.31)
3. *niratā yatra catvāro varṇāḥ sarve svakarmanī // (śloka 15)*
compare:
svadharmaniratāḥ sarve varṇāś caiva vyavasthitāḥ //
(*Skanda Purāṇa* 6.272.28)
4. *svakarmasu ratā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ śuśrūṣaṇe ratāḥ // (śloka 19)*
compare:
(a) *śuśrūṣāyām ratāḥ śūdrāś tathā varṇatrayasya ca /*
(*Mahābhārata* 3.189.13)
(b) *kṛṣyām abhiratā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāḥ śuśrūṣavaḥ sthitāḥ //*
(*Harivaṃśa* appendix 1.41 line 61)
5. *tataḥ krodhaś ca lobhaś ca patitaḥ pṛthivītale //*
ekapādāvaśeṣeṇa dharmena pṛthivītale / (śloka 20, 27)
compare:
adharmah padam ekaṃ tu pātayat pṛthivītale /
(*Rāmāyaṇa* 7.65.15)
6. *prajāpālanadakṣāś ca rakṣitāro nareśvarāḥ / (śloka 26)*
compare:
prajāpālanadakṣāś ca narendrān dharmacārīṇaḥ /
(*Mahābhārata* appendix 1.21 line 11)
7. *na cakrāma paraḥ kaścit svadharmam paripṛcchati // (śloka 27)*
compare:
na tadā brāhmaṇaḥ kaścit svadharmam upajivati /
(*Mahābhārata* 3.186.31)
8. *bhovādinas tathā śūdrā brāhmaṇāś cāryavādinaḥ / (śloka 55)*
compare:
(a) *bhovādinas tathā śūdrā brāhmaṇāś cāryavādinaḥ //*
(*Mahābhārata* 3.186.33)
(b) *śūdrā bhāvādinaś caiva brāhmaṇāś cāntyavāsinaḥ //*
(*Brahma Purāṇa* ASS 230.12 / *Venk.* 123.12)
(c) *śūdrā bhovādinaś caiva bhaviṣyanti yugakṣaye //*
(*Harivaṃśa* 116.13)
9. *devo dvādaśavarṣāṇi anāvṛṣṭim kariṣyati /*
prajā nāśam gamiṣyanti durbhikṣabhayapīḍitāḥ // (śloka 90)
compare:
(a) *anāvṛṣṭyā vīnaikṣyanti durbhikṣakarapīḍitāḥ //*
(*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.2.10)

- (b) *anāvṛṣṭibhayāt prāyaḥ prajāḥ kṣudbhayakātarāḥ /*
(*Brahma Purāṇa* 229.24)
- (c) *anāvṛṣṭibhayaṃ ghoram deśānām ca viparyayaḥ //*
(*Kūrma Purāṇa* 1.28.2, *Skanda Purāṇa* 1.2.40.219)
- (d) *kausikim pratipatsyante deśān kṣudbhayapīḍitāḥ //*
(*Linga Purāṇa* 1.40.37)
- (e) *durbhikṣakarapīḍābhiratīvopadrutā janāḥ /*
(*Brahma Purāṇa* 229.38, *Nārada Purāṇa* 1.41.81)
10. *yatra minaiḥ pataṅgaiś ca tuṣṭim eṣyanti mānavāḥ //*
yatra śākaiś ca jīvyante dhānyair mūlaphalais tathā //
(*śloka 107, 113*)
compare:
(a) *nirviṣeṣā janapadā nara (var. anā) vṛṣṭibhir arditāḥ /*
āśramān abhipatsyanti phalamūlopajīvināḥ //
(*Mahābhārata* 3.188.71)
- (b) *mṛgair matsyair vihaṅgaiś ca śvāpadaiḥ sarvakīṭakaiḥ /*
madhuśākaphalair mūlair vartayiṣyanti mānavāḥ //
(*Harivaṃśa* 117.32, var. mīnair i.p.o. matsyair; *Brahma Purāṇa* 230.74, *sarpa-* i.p.o. sarva-)
- (c) *mṛgair mīnair vihaṅgaiś ca śvāpadaiś takṣubhis tathā //*
madhuśākaphalair mūlair vartayiṣyanti mānavāḥ //
(*Brahma Purāṇa* 2.3.74. 215-6, *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.37.398)
- (d) *śākamūlāmiṣakṣaudraphalapuṣpatṣibhojanāḥ //*
(*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.2.9)
- (e) *mūlaparṇaphalāhārās tapasā iha mānavāḥ /*
(*Brahma Purāṇa* 229.25)
- (f) *madhumāṃsair mūlaphalair vartayanti suduḥkhitāḥ /*
(*Linga Purāṇa* 1.40.70)
- (g) *māṃsair mūlaphalais caiva vartayanti suduḥkhitāḥ /*
(*Skanda Purāṇa* 1.2.40.268)
- (h) *madhuśākamūlaphalapatrapuṣpādyākārāś ca bhaviṣyanti //*
(*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.24.95)
11. *pūrve yugasahasrānte kalpo niḥśeṣa ucyate // (śloka 115)*
compare:
(a) *pūrve yugasahasrānte kalpo niḥśeṣa ucyate /*
(*Matsya Purāṇa* 247.22)
- (b) *pūrve yugasahasre tu kalpo niḥśeṣa ucyate /*
(*Harivaṃśa* 7.52, *Brahma Purāṇa* 5.60, *Śiva Purāṇa* 5.34.73)

- (c) *pūrṇe yugasahasre vai niḥśeṣaḥ kalpa ucyate ||*
(*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 3.4.1.173, *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.38.178)
- (d) *pūrṇam yugasahasraṁ hi paripālyā nareśvaraiḥ |*
(*Harivaṁśa* 7.47)
- (e) *pūrṇam yugasahasraṁ tu paripālyā dvijottamāḥ |*
(*Brahma Purāṇa* 5.53)
- (f) *pūrṇam yugasahasraṁ vai paripālyā nareśvarāḥ ||*
(*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 3.4.1.31, *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.38.34)
- (g) *pūrṇe yugasahasrānte paripālyā svadharmataḥ |*
(*Śiva Purāṇa* 5.34.70)
- (h) *pūrṇe yugasahasre tu brāhṁe 'hani tathāgate |*
(*Matsya Purāṇa* 247.14)
- (i) *sahasrayugaparyantaḥ kalpo niḥśeṣa ucyate ||*
(*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 3.2.48)
- (j) *tasmin yugasahasrānte samprāpte cāyusaḥ kṣaye |*
anāvṛtīr mahārājā jāyate bahuvārṣikī ||
(*Mahābhārata* 3.186.56)
- (k) *tasmin yugasahasre tu pūrṇe bharatasattama*
brāhṁe divasaparyante kalpo niḥśeṣa ucyate
(*Harivaṁśa* appendix 1.2 line 46)

It can be seen from examining these correspondences that there are two complete lines of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* which appear *verbatim* in other works: namely 55a-b, which appears also in the *Mahābhārata* (and, with variants, in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Brahma-Purāṇa*), and 115c-d, which appears also in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (and, with variants, in many other works). It is to be noted that the latter line appears in the *Purāṇas* in the context of their Manvantara accounts—and not, as with all the other correspondences, in the context of their accounts of the Yugas. Some of the other correspondences are strongly suggestive either of being borrowed from a common source or of being borrowed from one text by another: and many further correspondences could have been noted, particularly in *Mahābhārata* 3.186-189 which often paraphrase and expand upon topics mentioned in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*. We would thus seem to have three main possibilities for explaining the closeness of many of these correspondences:

- (a) there originally existed an independent account of the four Yugas, which was drawn upon by both the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and the other works;
- (b) the *Yuga-Purāṇa* has borrowed its account from the other works;
- (c) the other works have borrowed parts of their accounts from the

Yuga-Purāṇa. Dealing first with the two complete shared lines, it has already been seen in section 2 that the *Matsya Purāṇa* contains some ten chapters taken from the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*: these chapters are, moreover, those which almost immediately precede the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter in that work. This therefore greatly increases the likelihood that the *Matsya Purāṇa* has borrowed 115c-d from the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, along with other material relating to the Yugas: and it also suggests that some at least of the other works may have done the same, since the *Matsya Purāṇa* is generally acknowledged to be one of the earliest *Purāṇas*. We may also note that, while 115c-d appears in other works in contexts relating to the Manvantara tradition, the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—as indeed the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole—evidently has no knowledge of the Manvantara as a period of time: thus again suggesting that it was composed before that tradition was formulated and developed in the Epics and *Purāṇas*.⁷⁴ In the case of 55a-b, the situation is slightly more complex, since the line is omitted from five manuscripts: but since four of these constitute the least reliable group of manuscripts (A, J, P and Q), while the other (R) omits well-attested lines on further occasions (e.g. *śloka* 74 with A-J-P-Q, 83c-84b), it would seem reasonably certain that this line is an integral part of the text rather than a later interpolation. Examining the further correspondences between the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and chapters 3.186-189 of the *Mahābhārata*, we see a number of similarities which suggest a close connection between the two: yet it is noteworthy that the *Mahābhārata* account speaks not of individual kings who rule at the end of the Yuga, but rather of Andhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Aurnikas, Śūdras and Abhīras (3.186.30, just three *ślokas* before the line under discussion): and that it also thereafter speaks—like the *Purāṇas*—of Kalki, who destroys the old Kali Yuga and ushers in the new Kṛta Yuga. Both of these features are quite lacking in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*: and the mention of the Abhīras in particular suggests that the *Mahābhārata* passage can scarcely be earlier than around A.D. 250. Furthermore, the *Mahābhārata* passage states that its own account is taken from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*:⁷⁵ and the present *Vāyu* account, while not containing 55a-b, has correspondences with the *Yuga-Purāṇa* which it shares especially with the *Harivaṁśa* and

74 On this question, see J.E. Mitchiner, 'The Evolution of the Manvantara Theory', and *ibid.*, *Traditions of the Seven Rishis*, ch.2.

75 *Mahābhārata* 3.189.14:

etat te sarvaṁ ākhyātam atītān āgataṁ mayā |
vāyuproktam anusmṛtya purāṇam ṛṣisamstutam ||

with the *Brahma* and *Matsya Purāṇas* (107c-d, 113c-d and 115c-d). The accounts of the Yugas in the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* appear in the same chapter as the accounts of the kings of the Kali Yuga and of the Era of the Seven Rishis: and the *Matsya* account is demonstrably earlier than the *Vāyu* account.⁷⁶ Moreover, as noted above, 115c-d appears in the *Harivaṃśa* and in the *Brahma, Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas* in the context of the Manvantaras: and here again the Manvantara account in the *Vāyu* is clearly later than those in the other texts.⁷⁷ In both instances, therefore, the *Vāyu* accounts are later than those of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (as also of the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Brahma Purāṇa*): hence if the *Mahābhārata* claims to have borrowed its account from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, that account must by implication be later than the account in at least the *Matsya Purāṇa*—a text which itself borrows in further contexts from the *Gārgīya jyotiṣa*. If, therefore, we are dealing with a question of textual borrowing, it would seem likely that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account predates that in the *Mahābhārata*: and that the *Mahābhārata* has in this instance borrowed 55a-b from the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, rather than *vice versa*.

It may also be noted here that other parts of the *Mahābhārata* refer to Garga himself, and also to his *jyotiṣa*-work. One passage in the *Śānti Parvan* refers to Garga as the *sāmṃvatsara* (one who has knowledge of time i.e. an astronomer/astrologer) of the legendary king Prthu Vainya.⁷⁸ Another passage, in the *Anuśāsana Parvan*, relates that Gārgya obtained from Śiva *kāla-jñānam mahādbhutam* (very wonderful knowledge of time) contained in a treatise of sixty-four divisions (*catuṣṣaṣṭyaṅga*):⁷⁹ while a passage in the *Śalya-Parvan* recounts that Vṛddha-Garga—also referred to as Gargā—obtained through severe *tapas* (asceticism), *kāla-jñāna* knowledge of *jyotiṣa* and of favourable and unfavourable omens (*utpātā dāruṇāś caiva śubhāś ca*).⁸⁰ We have already seen that the *utpāta*-chapters are those which almost immediately precede the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter in the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, and which also appear (as *adbhūta-śānti* chapters) in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Moreover, the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* itself states

76 Note especially the omission of the Guptas from the *Matsya* account: see *Traditions of the Seven Rishis*, ch.4.

77 The first three texts, for example, contain lists of the Seven Rishis in each Manvantara for only the first 8 Manvantaras: while the *Vāyu* contains lists for all 14 Manvantaras, and also adds *gotra*-names for each Rishi: see 'The Evolution of the Manvantara Theory', and *Traditions of the Seven Rishis*, ch.3.

78 *Mahābhārata* 12.59.117: *maharṣir bhagavān gargas tasya sāmṃvatsaro 'bhavaṭ*,

79 *Mahābhārata* 13.18.25-26.

80 *Mahābhārata* 9.36.14-17.

in several places that it consists of sixty-four *aṅgas* or divisions: and analysis of the present form of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* confirms that this is indeed the case.⁸¹ This therefore makes it fairly certain that the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* was composed—in a form at least very similar to its present one—earlier than many part of the *Mahābhārata*, and certainly earlier (perhaps considerably so) than those parts of the *Mahābhārata* which refer to it.

Attention will now be turned to a consideration of more general correspondences between the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and other works. *Śloka* 115 of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* states that the total length of a Kalpa is 10,000,000 years (*śataṃ śatasahasrāṇām*). This corresponds to the length given especially in the *Mahābhārata*, where it is said that the Kṛta Yuga lasts for 4,000 years, the Tretā for 3,000 years, the Dvāpara for 2,000 years, and the Kali for 1,000 years: thus giving a total of 10,000 years for the four Yugas; and since there is said to be a total of 1,000 (Mahā-) Yugas or successions of the four Yugas in a Kalpa, a total therefore of 10,000,000 years in a Kalpa.⁸² Most Purāṇas, on the other hand, introduce *sandhyā-māsas* or twilight-intervals between each of the four Yugas: they consequently increase the total number of years in a Kalpa, and hence differ on this point from both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Yuga Purāṇa*. It should be noted at this stage that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* appears to contradict itself: since it has earlier stated that the length of life is reduced by one-tenth in each Yuga, being 100,000 years in the Kṛta Yuga, 10,000 years in the Tretā, 1,000 years in the Dvāpara, and (by implication) 100 years in the Kali—thus giving a total of 111,100 years.⁸³ It might consequently be suggested that *śloka* 115 should be regarded as a later addition to the text—in which case it would nonetheless have been added before the composition of comparable accounts in other Purāṇas. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that such computational contradictions abound throughout Sanskrit literature: and we should perhaps not take too puritanical a view of it, since perhaps the author of our text himself included these items of information from originally different sources.

One very characteristic feature of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account consists in discussing the reigns of specific individual kings at the end of the Kali Yuga: this being a feature which sets it apart from the Epic and Purāṇic traditions, which rarely discuss individual kings but rather refer to all

81 The contents of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*—together with the two passages cited in notes 79 and 80—are given in Appendix 1.

82 E.g. *Mahābhārata* 6.11.3-7; contrast e.g. 3.186.18-21, where twilight-intervals are introduced to give a total length of 10,000 + 2,000 = 12,000 years.

83 *Ślokas* 8, 21, 24.

kings and dynasties as being Śūdras and Mlecchas (low-born and outcastes) at the end of the Kali Yuga. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* makes no mention of the chronological Era of the Seven Rishis, which is a characteristic feature of the accounts in the early Purāṇas; and perhaps most conspicuous of all, the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—although talking in detail of the end of the Kali Yuga and the start of a new (Kṛta) Yuga—makes no mention whatever of Kalki, who otherwise appears in this context in the accounts of the *Mahābhārata*, of the *Harivaṃśa*, and of most Purāṇas. These omissions once again strongly suggest that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account is earlier than the accounts in the Epics and other Purāṇas.

The Epic and Purāṇic accounts of the Yugas enter into considerable detail on the evils of the Kali Yuga. The *Mahābhārata* account, for example, also speaks of the *dr̥ḍhavratas* who abound at the end of the Yuga;⁸⁴ and the refrain “*bhaviṣya(n)ti yugakṣaye*” is echoed over and again throughout these accounts. Fear and famine are said to grip the world, and men leave their villages which become like forests⁸⁵—just as Pāṭali-putra is said to become a forest after the Śaka incursion;⁸⁶ they move to rivers and mountains, and to outlying areas and *maṇḍalas*, settling down among Mlecchas.⁸⁷ Yet while these *maṇḍalas* or regions are often spoken of as the standard outlying areas of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kashmir and so forth, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is again far more specific in its listing of the twelve *maṇḍalas* in which men survive at the end of the Yuga: moreover, it does not depict their inhabitants as being Mlecchas or outcastes—and the term Mleccha is used only in a specific sense for one individual, Āmrāta, who destroys the *varṇas* or castes.⁸⁸ This constant specificity of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—in contrast to the generalities contained in all other accounts of the Yugas—again suggests its priority to the other accounts: since we have many other instances wherein originally specific terms—such as Dāsa, Mleccha, Śaka and Yavana—degenerate into general terms of derogation denoting simply “outcaste” or “low-born”.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* contains the somewhat unusual doubled form *kṛtayuge yuge*:⁸⁹ almost the only other place where this seems to occur is

84 *Mahābhārata* 3.188.24-25; cp. *Yuga-Purāṇa* śloka 54b.

85 E.g. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 2.3.74. 210-211; *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.37.292-293.

86 Śloka 65.

87 E.g. *Harivaṃśa* 117; *Brahma Purāṇa* 230.60ff.; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 2.3.74.213-4; *Skanda Purāṇa* 1.2.40.262; *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.37.396-7; the term *maṇḍala* is used in the *Harivaṃśa* and *Brahma* accounts, also in *Liṅga Purāṇa* 1.40.30.

88 Ślokas 68-69.

89 Śloka 11.

in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the expression *tretāyuge yuge*.⁹⁰ Taking this in parallel to the other shared features between the *Yuga-Purāṇa* and *Rāmāyaṇa* accounts, it is again suggestive of borrowing—either from a common source, or one from the other. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* is noteworthy for ignoring the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition: and this therefore makes it highly unlikely that it has borrowed any further features from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Taking these indications of correspondences as a whole, we may conclude that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* has almost certainly not borrowed its account from any of these Epic or Purāṇic sources. It is possible that there may have existed an independent account of the four Yugas, which was drawn upon by all of these texts: in which case the *Yuga-Purāṇa* will have added to this its own account of the kings of the Kali Yuga, most of which is not to be found in any other texts. The other possibility is that the Epics and Purāṇas draw upon the account of the Yugas in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* adapting it and adding to it in different ways. We know that the *Matsya Purāṇa* has included those chapters almost immediately preceding the *Yuga-Purāṇa* in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, and that several *Parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* are aware of the existence of a *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* with sixty-four divisions—closely similar to, if not identical with, the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*; and this consequently greatly increases the likelihood that at least some Epic and Purāṇic authors were acquainted with, and made use of, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. In any event, the account in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* clearly lacks many of the features which characterise the accounts in the Epics and Purāṇas, and is far more specific on individual details: it must consequently in all probability be acknowledged as an earlier account than those in the Epics and Purāṇas.

90 *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.65.12.

9. SECTARIANISM IN THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* is not an especially sectarian work: that is to say, it is generally free of the sectarian biases which characterise most of the principal Purāṇas.

All of the three main gods of classical Hinduism are mentioned in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—but only one of them by his primarily classical name. Svayambhū (i.e. Brahṁā) is mentioned once, as the creator of the Kṣatra (authority of the warrior-caste) for the protection of the people (*śloka* 14). The entire account is said to be related by Śaṁkara (i.e. Śiva), who is also referred to as *bhagavān deva* (the Lord God) (*śloka* 4). Viṣṇu is said to have decreed the death of Agnimitra (*śloka* 78); as Keśava, he appears in the context of the Pāṇḍava war (i.e. the Mahābhārata) in order to destroy horses, elephants, warriors and men at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga; and in the same context he is said to be called Vāsudeva (i.e. Kṛṣṇa the son of Vasudeva), and is described as being four-armed (*caturbāhu*), wearing yellow clothes (*pītāmbaradhara*), and bearing the conch, disc and mace (*śaṅkha cakragadādhara*) (*ślokas* 29-30). In a probably interpolated line (see section 3), the epithets *vanamālīn* (of Vāsudeva/Kṛṣṇa) and *halāyudha* (of Saṅkarṣaṇa/Balarāma) are also mentioned (*śloka* 31a-b). The other principal deity mentioned in the account is Skanda, the son of Śiva; the entire account is said to be related following the initial questions of Skanda to Śiva (*ślokas* 1-4); and Skanda himself is referred to as *śaktidhara* (he who holds the spear), as *varhiṇadh-vaja* (he who has the peacock as his emblem), and as *akliṣṭakarmaṇ* (he who is unwearied in action) (*ślokas* 1,4,114). Two manuscripts (C and D) call the entire account the *Skanda-Purāṇa* rather than the *Yuga-Purāṇa*: presumably since it is related in response to Skanda's questions.

At the end of each of the first three Yugas, there is said to have occurred a great battle. The destruction of the demon Tāraka is said to have occurred at the end of the Kṛta Yuga; the destruction of Kṣatriyas twenty-one times by (Paraśu-) Rāma is said to have occurred at the end of the Tretā Yuga; while the Dvāpara Yuga is said to have concluded with the quarrel between the Pāṇḍavas and other kings. The individual characters who take part in this latter conflict are listed at some length: but the conflict itself is not referred to as the Bhārata or Mahābhārata

war.⁹¹ The final event at the end of the Kali Yuga is said to be the Śāka incursion, which is followed by drought, famine and destruction: leading to a transition period before the start of a new (Kṛta) Yuga.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* is silent over the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition: as also over the *Harivaṁśa* tradition of the life and deeds of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. No connection is made between (Paraśu-) Rāma and Viṣṇu: and there is not even the slightest suggestion of the concept of an *avatāra* or incarnation on earth of Viṣṇu—as is found in other Epic and Purāṇic contexts—in connection with either Rāma or Vāsudeva.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* is primarily a Brahmin-oriented text. It is concerned with the proper maintenance of the four *varṇas* or castes, and with their respective duties (e.g. *ślokas* 15-19): and it condemns the low-born Āmrāṭa for his sin of *varṇasaṁkara* or mixing—and thus destroying—the castes (*śloka* 69). It also decries the rise of Śūdras, Vṛśalas (low-born men) and Pāṣaṇḍas (heretics) at the end of the Kali Yuga, who even usurp the role of Brahmins by themselves offering sacrifice, and whom Brahmins are obliged to treat as their superiors (*ślokas* 50-55); and it is strongly opposed to the changing status and role of women, who because of their superabundance come to adopt the roles of men (*ślokas* 82-86). The *Yuga-Purāṇa* also exhibits a somewhat anti-ascetic bias: it despises low-born Bhikṣukas (religious beggars, a term applicable to both Hindu and Buddhist mendicants), who wear bark-cloth garments (*cīravalkalasamvīta*) and have matted hair (*jaṭāvalkaladhārin*, a term suggestive especially of Śaiva ascetics) (*śloka* 52); and it also condemns men for abandoning an active role in favour of taking their ease as *gṛhasthas* or house-dwellers and of being dressed in red (*raktavāsas*, a term again suggestive of either Hindu or Buddhist ascetics) (*śloka* 86).

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* thus displays something of a Brahmin reaction to the growth of non-Brahmin practices. Yet it is not concerned to whitewash the Brahmins: since it also condemns those Brahmins who adopt un-Brahmanic practices (e.g. *ślokas* 50,55). It is perhaps above all concerned with the preservation of *dharma*, or the proper ordering of life and society: and it laments the weaknesses of *dharma* and the adoption of *adhārmic* modes of life as the cycle of the four Yugas progresses. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* thus has no strong sectarian bias: it is a

91 The terms Bhārata and Mahābhārata appear as early as *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* 3.4.4 (c. 5th or 4th century B.C.), and are also mentioned by both Pāṇini (c. 3rd century B.C.) and Patañjali (c. 2nd century B.C.).

somewhat pro-Brahmin and anti-ascetic (thus by implication also anti-Buddhist) text, yet not markedly so; while its lack of sectarian bias—together with the particular names by which it refers to the gods and the omission of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition—suggest that it owes its composition to a period somewhat earlier than that of the Epics and other Purāṇas.

10. THE HISTORICITY OF THE ACCOUNT

Widely differing assessments have been made of the value of the kings' lists and royal genealogies which are to be found in the Epics and Purāṇas. These range from on the one hand viewing the lists as "outright fabrications" without the slightest reliability—as is the view of Henige, and to a modified extent of Sircar—right through to on the other hand an implicit acceptance of their validity as accurate records of Indian dynasties—as is the view of Pargiter, and of others who have largely followed his lead.⁹² It is clearly not necessary—and indeed unwarranted—to go to the sceptical extreme of discounting the historicity of all kings and events which are mentioned in Sanskrit literature: but at the same time a degree of caution is necessary when looking at the sources of Indian historical tradition, not least because the writing of "history" in the generally-accepted Western sense of an objective account of past events was most usually subordinated by classical Indian writers to a concern with the philosophical or religious patterns which were seen as underlying such events.⁹³ Thus in the case of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, the main concern rests not so much with the events in themselves which transpired in each of the four Yugas, but rather with the declining state of *dharma* or righteousness which gave rise to such events. With the Epic and Purāṇic genealogies in general, there is also a need to differentiate somewhat between the earlier and later sections of these lists: for if it is acknowledged that the lists were largely given their present form during the first few centuries of the Christian era, then clearly the later sections of the lists will be more likely to preserve a degree of accuracy than the earliest sections of the lists. The later sections of the lists also have the possibility of corroboration from further sources: notably from Buddhist and Jain literary sources, and more especially from numismatic and inscriptional evidence. This latter evidence is in itself adequate demon-

92 See especially Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition*, pp.61-64; Sircar, 'Nature of the Purāṇic Genealogies', in *ibid.* (ed.), *The Bharata War and Purāṇic Genealogies*, pp. 105-114; Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, *passim*.

93 For discussions of this topic, see especially papers 1-9 in Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*.

stration that, however garbled and muddled the lists might appear, they do nonetheless in at least some places preserve material of historical validity.

The account of kings and events which is given in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is somewhat different from those given in the Epics and Purāṇas generally. There is firstly a difference in content: inasmuch as many of the names and events in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* are not mentioned elsewhere in the Epics or Purāṇas, nor indeed in any other literary sources. There is also a difference in style: since the *Yuga-Purāṇa* does not set out to give complete genealogies, as is otherwise the case in the Epics and Purāṇas, but instead gives selective accounts of such kings and events as seemed significant in the eyes of—and for the purposes of—the author. Thus the account in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* gives the impression of representing a fairly early stage in the formulation of the Epic and Purāṇic genealogical tradition, which was only subsequently developed into the presentation of complete genealogical lists. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* has clearly not derived its account—or at least, certain parts of its account—from any other extant literary sources or from the main Epic and Purāṇic tradition: for it represents in many respects a unique account, particularly in its mention of the Indo-Greeks and Śakas, which can only be assessed in such respects with the help of non-literary evidence.

The main aim of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is, then, to give an outline account of the principal peoples and events in each of the four Yugas or Ages, as an illustration of what came to pass when *dharma* inevitably declined with the passing of time. The section of narrative describing the Kali Yuga, or the “Present Age”, is spoken—as in the Epics and Purāṇas—in a prophetic future tense: and this also the case—unlike in the Epics and Purāṇas—with the section of narrative describing the Mahābhārata war at the end of the third or Dvāpara Yuga. The three Yugas before the present one are each said to have ended with a war or conflict: thus the Kṛta Yuga is said to have ended with the Tāraka war, or the destruction of the demon Tāraka (*ślokas* 6-14), the Tretā Yuga with the destruction of the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times by (Paraśu-) Rāma (*ślokas* 15-22), and the Dvāpara Yuga with the Mahābhārata war (*ślokas* 23-36). Each of these events is also narrated or referred to both in the Epics (more especially in the *Mahābhārata*) and throughout the Purāṇas.

The consideration in this section of the historicity of the account will be commenced from the start of the Kali Yuga section at *śloka* 37. It should be appreciated, as has been pointed out, that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* does not contain either a complete or a fully consecutive catalogue of

events and characters, but rather presents—albeit for the most part in seemingly chronological order—certain select and prominent occurrences: it is therefore impossible to reconstruct, from this account alone, anything more than an outline chronology for the peoples and events described. Such descriptions can, however, be compared with and supplemented by those which appear both in further literary works and in inscriptional and numismatic sources: thereby making it possible to see how the material in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* either harmonises or conflicts with the material from other sources. In the following examination of the section on the Kali Yuga, the structure of that section as was earlier set out in section 6 will be followed.

A. Janamejaya Pārīkṣit (*ślokas* 37-39)

Janamejaya is famed as a mighty king and emperor even in the Brāhmaṇas. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, for example, relates that he was anointed king by Tura Kāvaṣeya, and offered the *aśvamedha* sacrifice: that he became lord of all the earth: and that, through instruction by Tura Kāvaṣeya, he attained greatness and became a great king.⁹⁴ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also refers to his performance of the *aśvamedha*, by which he rid himself of all evil-doing and Brahmin-slaughter:⁹⁵ while the *Mahābhārata* similarly relates that Janamejaya killed a Brahmin and was consequently abandoned by the Brahmins, but that he thereafter regained favour by performing the *aśvamedha* sacrifice.⁹⁶ Janamejaya figures, indeed, most prominently in the *Mahābhārata*: his great snake-sacrifice constitutes the frame-story of the Epic, while the entire Epic is said to have been related to him by Vaiśampāyana.⁹⁷ Janamejaya's quarrel with the Brahmins is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, where it is simply said that he perished under the influence of anger against Brahmins.⁹⁸ The legend is elaborated in the *Harivaṃśa*, which relates that while Janamejaya was performing the *aśvamedha* his wife lay down beside the sacrificial horse, whereupon Indra entered the body of the horse and in that guise had intercourse with her: Janamejaya in his anger then blamed the priests and banished them from his kingdom, thereby destroying the fruits of the sacrifice.⁹⁹ A somewhat different

94 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8.21: 8.11: 4.27; see also 7.27-34.

95 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13.5.4.1-3; see also 11.5.5.13.

96 *Mahābhārata* 12.146-148.

97 Notably in the *Ādi* and *Svargārohaṇa Parvans*; also *Mahābhārata* 18.5.30

98 *Arthaśāstra* 1.6.6.

99 *Harivaṃśa* 118.11-39.

account is given in the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas*, where it is said that Janamejaya was cursed in anger by Vaiśampāyana (*aśapat taṃ tadāmarṣād vaiśampāyana eva tu*) and by the Brahmins (*vivāde brāhmaṇaiḥ sārddham abhiśapto*) due to his Vājasaneyaka opinions.¹⁰⁰ Thus the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account of his downfall as being due to a quarrel with Brahmins agrees with the accounts in other works: while the precise cause of that quarrel given in this account—namely his anger on account of his insulted wife—is elsewhere alluded to only in the *Harivaṃśa*.

B. Udāyin and the founding of Pāṭaliputra (śloka 40-43)

The form “Udadhin” or “Udadhi” given in many manuscripts of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is probably no more than a graphic variant for “Udāyin”. The epithet *śiśunāgātma* implies that Udāyin was the son of Śiśunāga: but other Purāṇas relate that he was seventh in line of descent from Śiśunāga. Most manuscripts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* give his name as Udāsin: in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* he is generally called Udayāśva: and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Ajaya.¹⁰¹ Brahmanical sources—including the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—here conflict with Buddhist sources: notably with the *Mahāvamśa*, which relates that “Susunāga” was a successor—rather than an ancestor—of Udāyin (or “Udayabhadda” as he is generally called in the Pāli Canon).¹⁰² The balance of evidence does, indeed, seem to be in favour of the Buddhist sources on this point.¹⁰³ Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain sources agree, however, that Udāyin was the successor of Ajātaśatru, possibly after the interregnum of Darśaka:¹⁰⁴ and his reign most probably commenced around 460 B.C. The event for which he is celebrated in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—namely the founding of Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra on the “right” or southern bank of the Gaṅgā—is also recounted of him in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*,¹⁰⁵ and again

100 *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.37.244-250; *Matsya Purāṇa* 50.57-65.

101 *Matsya Purāṇa* 272.6-13; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 14.24.3; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.1.5-8.

102 *Mahāvamśa* 4.1-8; see also *Dīpavamśa* 5.97-98.

103 See for example the discussions in H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp.103-5, 190-201, and in W. Geiger, Introduction to the PTS translation of the *Mahāvamśa*, pp.xl-xlvi.

104 Darśaka is mentioned only in the Purāṇas as ruling between Ajātaśatru and Udāyin: he is omitted altogether from the Jain tradition and the Buddhist *Asokāvadāna* and *Divyāvadāna*, but may be identified with the Nāgadāsaka who is listed in the *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* as the successor of Udāyin.

105 *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.37.313; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 2.3.74.132-133.

in the Jain *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*.¹⁰⁶ This, for the author of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, constituted a major event in the Kali Yuga: and much of the account is hereafter devoted to recounting the subsequent fate of Pāṭaliputra.

C. Śālīsūka in Pāṭaliputra (śloka 44-46)

Śālīsūka is listed in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*, and in manuscript *e* of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, as one of the successors of Aśoka Maurya.¹⁰⁷ Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain sources all differ in their accounts of the successors of Aśoka. The Jain *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* merely states that Aśoka was succeeded by his grandson Samprati, the son of Kunāla:¹⁰⁸ Samprati being almost as famed in Jain tradition—as a patron and propāgator of Jainism—as is Aśoka in Buddhist tradition—as a propāgator of Buddhism.¹⁰⁹ The Buddhist *Asokāvadāna* and *Divyāvadāna* list Aśoka's successors as Sampadi (= Samprati), Bṛhaspati, Vṛṣasena, Puṣyadharman, and Puṣyamitra.¹¹⁰ Among the Purāṇas, the fullest list appears in *eVāyu*, in the order: Kulāla, Bandhupālita, Daśona, Daśaratha, Samprati, Śālīsūka, Devadharman, Śatadhanu, and Bṛhadratha. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* generally list Kunāla, Bandhupālita, Indrapālita, Devavarman, Śatadhanu and Bṛhadratha: while the *Viṣṇu* lists Suyaśas, Daśaratha, Saṃghata, Śālīsūka, Somaśarman, Śatadhanvan, and Bṛhadratha—a list which is also given in the *Bhāgavata*, with the exclusion of Daśaratha. The *Matsya* lists only Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan, and Bṛhadratha. According to all the Purāṇas, Bṛhadratha was overthrown by his army-commander Puṣyamitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty. It is clearly not easy to discern the exact line of Maurya succession after Aśoka: and it would seem likely that several of the names in these lists refer to princes or regional governors rather than imperial sovereigns of Pāṭaliputra. The existence of Daśaratha is evidenced by three cave-inscriptions in the Nāgārjunī hills, which state that the caves were dedicated to Ājīvika ascetics by Daśaratha Devānampīya (“Beloved of the

106 *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 6.1-41, 6.175-188.

107 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.24.7-8; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.1.13-16: the *eVāyu* account is given in Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp.28-30. On the Mauryas generally, see especially Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*.

108 *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 9.34-54.

109 See e.g. *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 9.54, 11.55-65; *Pāṭaliputrakalpa*, passage ed. & trans. in *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol.1 part 1 p.15.

110 *Asokāvadāna* (A-yu-wang-ling version) p.45b col.8; trans. in Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p.301 n.3; *Divyāvadāna* ch.29 p.433.

Gods”: the epithet commonly used by Aśoka).¹¹¹ That of Samprati also seems adequately vouched for by references to him in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical sources. Several Buddhist legends additionally relate that Kunāla was a viceroy—and, according to some, the successor—of Aśoka: but we may likely suppose that, after Aśoka’s fairly lengthy 36-year reign came to an end in 232 B.C., the succession passed within a short time to either Samprati or Daśaratha, both of whom are said (in Jain/Buddhist and Brahmanical sources respectively) to have been grandsons of Aśoka. According to the Purāṇas, Daśaratha reigned for eight years, and Samprati for nine: and it would therefore have been shortly before 200 B.C. that Śāliśūka succeeded to the throne.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* speaks in disparaging terms of this ruler. “Born for the destruction of truth”, “fond of conflict”, “greatly afflicting his own kingdom”, and “of righteous speech but unrighteous conduct”: such denigrating descriptions of Śāliśūka are evidently to be taken alongside the further item of information that he will, in delusion, “cause his eldest brother to establish *viṣayaṃ nāma dhārmikam*” (śloka 46). The eldest brother is described as being famed, on account of his qualities, as the “Banner of Sādhus”: this epithet implies that he was a patron of ascetics, and the term *sādhu* is especially use of Jain ascetics. As has been seen, Samprati—the father of Śāliśūka, according to the Purāṇas—is well-famed as a patron of Jainism, just as Daśaratha—like Aśoka—is known to have been a patron of another non-Brahmanical sect; and it would seem quite likely that Samprati’s sons continued this Maurya tradition of patronage—if indeed Śāliśūka’s “eldest brother” is not perhaps to be identified with Samprati himself. The *viṣayaṃ nāma dhārmikam* established by this eldest brother is somewhat obscure: as it stands, it should be translated “a righteous person called Vijaya”, yet we know of no such person—which is, of course, no conclusive argument against the existence of such a person. Had the phrase read *viṣayaṃ dhārmikam nāma*, there would perhaps have been little difficulty in discerning a disparaging reference to the Aśoka concept of *dharmavijaya* or “Conquest through righteousness”, a type of conquest perhaps attempted here by one of his successors: and it is indeed difficult to see why the *Yuga-Purāṇa* should be so scathing in its criticisms, if the person established (namely Vijaya) was a righteous person. Bearing in mind the further criticisms which are to come a few lines further on in the account, about the predominance of ascetics, mendicants and Pāṣaṇḍas in the world and remembering that Aśoka patronised the

111 Sircar *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.77-78.

Pāṣaṇḍas among others¹¹²—it would seem that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* must have little sympathy for the Maurya patronage of non-Brahmanical groups: and it would be in context if it was similarly critical of the originally Buddhist-inspired concept of *dharmavijaya*. The phrase *viṣayaṃ nāma dhārmikam* cannot, however, strictly be interpreted in this sense: although this section as a whole does imply an antagonism towards certain Maurya rulers and their conduct.

D. The Yavana incursion (ślokas 47-48 and 56-57)

Since, as has been pointed out, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account is not an uninterrupted continuous chronological narrative, it is not necessary to presume that the Yavana incursion occurred—according to the account—immediately after the reign of Śāliśūka. However, since the account appears to speak subsequently of the reigns of Śuṅga kings—after the Yavana incursion—it would appear that this Yavana incursion did not occur very much later than the reign of Śāliśūka, according to the author of our account. The account relates, firstly, that the Yavanas or Indo-Greeks, after reaching Sāketa (apparently) in alliance with the Pāṇcāḷas and Māthuras—through whose territory they would most probably have had to pass in order to reach it—penetrated to Pāṭaliputra and overthrew it after a battle, leaving the surrounding lands desolate. The variant reading *pañcālān mathurām tathā*, seemingly given in one manuscript (K) which is no longer available but nonetheless adopted by both Jayaswal and Sircar, cannot now be accepted in view both of the known inaccuracy of that manuscript and also of the further manuscript evidence which includes the reading *pañcālā mathurās tathā*. The account subsequently relates that the Yavanas did not remain in Madhyadeśa, but agreed amongst themselves to return to their own realm because of a war or conflict which had broken out there. The expression *dharmabhūtataṃ* in śloka 55c, far from denoting Demetrios (as interpreted by Jayaswal and Sircar),¹¹³ belongs more correctly with the rest of the information in śloka 55 rather than with the resumed mention of the Yavanas in the next śloka. The adoption of *pañcālā* in place of *yavanā* in 56a-b and c-d

112 Mentioned for example in Rock-Edict 12 line 1: (Skt.) *sarvān pāṣaṇḍān pravrajitān gṛhasthāṃś ca pūjayati dānena vividhayā ca pūjayā*; note that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* also disparages *gṛhasthas* (śloka 86).

113 The only way to retain mention of “Demetrios” would seem to be by an emendation *dharmamitanayā* or similar: well as this might fit the context, it is nonetheless not to be found in any extant manuscript.

(Narain) from one unreliable manuscript (P)—which in any case reads *pañcanā* and *pañcalā* in its two versions of the second of these instances—can no longer be accepted in the light of the new manuscript evidence: likewise the variants *kṣāpayiṣyanti* in place of *jñāpayiṣyanti* (Narain and Sircar) and *pārthivān* in place of *pārthivāḥ* (Sircar) are not supported by the fresh weight of material. Narain's suggested emendation of *nagare yaṃ* to *nagaraṃ ye* also receives no support: although it must be admitted that the structure of the line is somewhat unorthodox—albeit little more so than many other lines in the work. “Madhyadeśa” seems to be intended here in the sense found also in Buddhist works, denoting the region up to or beyond Kajaṅgala.¹¹⁴

Having seen what exactly the account says about the Yavana incursion, we may now ask about the historicity of this supposed event. Corroboration for the penetration of a group of Yavanas to Sāketa is provided by Patañjali, who in this commentary on Pāṇini's Grammar gives at one point a grammatical example *arunad yavanaḥ sāketam/arunad yavano madhyamikām*, “the Yavana was besieging Sāketa, the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā.”¹¹⁵ At another point in his commentary, he gives an example *iha puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*, “here we are sacrificing for Puṣyamitra”: an expression which seems to imply that Patañjali was a near-contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.¹¹⁶ This consequently strengthens the possibility that some form of Yavana incursion to the central region of northern India took place prior to the reign of Puṣyamitra. The “Madhyamikā” referred to by Patañjali is close to modern Chitorgarh in Rajasthan, which would have been a region probably adjacent to the Śuṅga realm. Kālidāsa recounts in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* that Puṣyamitra appointed his grandson Vasumitra to guard his sacrificial horse, which wandered on the right bank of the Sindhu river and was seized by Yavana cavalymen—the latter being thereafter defeated by Vasumitra.¹¹⁷ The “Sindhu” referred to in this context may denote the river Indus: but such an extension of Śuṅga power seems unlikely, and it is more probable that it denotes one of two rivers in central India—either the Sindhu river which is a tributary of the Yamunā and has its source a short distance north-west of Vidiśā, or the Kali-Sindhu river which is a tributary of the Chambal and passes close to Chitorgarh and Ujjain after rising near Narmadā. In this event, therefore, we may

114 See note 33 to the translation.

115 *Mahābhāṣya* 3.2.111.

116 *Mahābhāṣya* 3.2.123.

117 *Mālavikāgnimitra* 5.15.14-24.

consider Kālidāsa's statement as increasing the likelihood of a Yavana presence in Madhyamikā during the reign of Puṣyamitra.

A distinctive series of Indo-Greek coins has been found at several places in central India: including at Dewas, some 22 miles to the east of Ujjain.¹¹⁸ These therefore add further definite support to the likelihood of an Indo-Greek presence in Malwa: but no Indo-Greek coins have yet been found at either Sāketa or Pāṭaliputra. If, however, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is correct in relating that the Yavanas penetrated to these latter places but returned shortly thereafter, this would be by no means surprising. We do indeed find inscriptional evidence for the presence of Yavanas in central and eastern India at a somewhat later date, without numismatic corroboration of the latter: thus the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription witnesses to the presence of the Yavana Heliodorus son of Dion in Vidiśā as an envoy from Taxila of king Antialkidas around 140 B.C.¹¹⁹; while the Hāthigumphā inscription relates somewhat enigmatically that in his eighth year Khāravela stormed Gorathagiri, put fear into the inhabitants of Rājagṛha, and sent the Yavana king Dīmīta back to Mathurā.¹²⁰ The name “Dīmīta” (or Dīmīta) is almost certainly an adaptation of “Demetrios”: and the inscription thus indicates a Yavana presence in Magadha, probably around the middle of the first century B.C.

Mention may be made here of the so-called Pañcāla “Mitra” coins found at Pāṭaliputra and elsewhere, and the *-mitra* names found in inscriptions at Bodh Gayā.¹²¹ Narain's suggestion that the appearance of Mathurā and Pañcāla coinage in these eastern areas of northern India may be linked with the *Yuga-Purāṇa* references to the expedition of the Māthuras and Pañcālas with the Yavanas to Magadha¹²² would seem a quite plausible explanation: and it adds further weight to the likelihood that this account of a Yavana incursion to Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra—in alliance with the Pañcālas and Māthuras—is indeed historical. In line with the above discussion, therefore, we may infer that such an event probably took place, after the reign of Śāliśūka Maurya (c. 200 B.C.) and before that of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187 B.C.). This would accordingly place the Yavana incursion during the reign of the Indo-

118 M.B. Mitchiner, *IGISC* vol.9 pp.800-801; *ibid.*, *The Ancient & Classical World*, p.367; Bhatt, ‘A Unique Indo-Greek Coin from Malwa’.

119 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.88-89.

120 Line 8: Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.213-221.

121 Discussed in G below.

122 Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp.86, 176-178.

Greek kings Euthydemus (c. 230-190 B.C.) or Demetrios (c. 205-190 as co-regent, and 190-171 B.C. as supreme ruler). There is little or no reason to suppose that this Yavana incursion represented an imperial campaign, or anything more than an expeditionary force: and the sudden departure of this Yavana force soon after it had reached Pāṭaliputra might even be taken to suggest that the whole episode ended in fiasco from the Indo-Greek point of view. The reference to the terrible war occurring in the Indo-Greek realm which prompted the sudden return of the Yavana force suggests, in this context, one of three events: namely either the two-year siege of Euthydemus in Bakh by Antiochus III (c. 208-206 B.C.), after which Antiochus himself marched eastwards and renewed his friendship with Sophagasenos "the king of the Indians";¹²³ or the secession of Sogdiana from Bactria (c. 190 B.C.); or else the revolt of Eucratides, who usurped the throne from Demetrios (c. 171 B.C.). Eucratides himself is said to have reduced India under his power;¹²⁴ while Demetrios is accorded the title "king of the Indians" by Justin¹²⁵—a title which may imply that he merely ruled over certain formerly Indian principalities in north-west India, but which may equally imply that he authorised ventures yet further afield. Although it is clearly not possible to be certain as to when this Yavana incursion took place, the most likely date is perhaps around 190 B.C.: a period which saw the death of Euthydemus and the secession of Sogdiana in the Indo-Greek realm, which would doubtless have prompted the return of any Indo-Greek expeditionary forces to their own realm; and a period which also witnessed the final downfall of the Mauryas and the emergence of the new Śuṅga dynasty under Puṣyamitra in India.

E. Seven kings of Sāketa (śloka 58-59)

It is somewhat ironic that the Maurya dynasty, which was established by Candragupta around 325 B.C. under the inspiration of a Greek incursion by Alexander,¹²⁶ may well have been hastened to an end by a further (Indo-) Greek incursion around 190 B.C. Just as Alexander's example prompted Candragupta to overthrow the last Nanda king, so too the confusion wrought by the advent of a joint Yavana-pañcāla-Māthura force may have provided the opportunity for Puṣyamitra to overthrow the last Maurya king and establish his own dynasty.

123 Polybius, *The Histories* 11.39.1-16.

124 Justin, *Trogus Pompeius* 41.6.

125 Justin, *Trogus Pompeius* 41.6: see also Strabo, *Geography* 11.11.1

126 Cf. Strabo, *Geography* 15.2.9.

Puṣyamitra is said in the Purāṇas to have been the *senānī* or army-commander of the last Maurya king Bṛhadratha: and to judge from his name, it is quite possible that he himself may have come originally from the then Maurya domains of Pañcāla or Māthurā, where many of the subsequent "Mitra" kings are known to have ruled (see next sub-section). Seen in this light, therefore, we may perhaps suppose that the Pañcālas and Māthuras—seeking to hasten the fall of a rapidly weakening Maurya empire and to establish their own independence (which, numismatically, they thereafter achieved)—enlisted the help of a Yavana contingent and proceeded to the Maurya capital to sound the death-knell of that dynasty. If the "Mitra" Puṣyamitra was indeed of Pañcāla or Māthura origin, the advent of this force—composed of many of his compatriots—would have provided him with an ideal opportunity to dispose of his Maurya master and to have himself proclaimed as ruler.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* does not give any details of these seven kings of Sāketa, and does not even provide any of their names. It merely states that they were mighty kings, whose soldiers engaged in bloody conflicts and ravaged the surrounding countryside. Numismatically, rule of Sāketa—the capital of Kośala, which shared its western border with Pañcāla—passed during the Śuṅga period to a line of kings, some of whom were apparently descended from Puṣyamitra: we have on coins the names of Viśakhadeva, Dhanadeva and Jayavarman, who were probably among the later rulers of this line:¹²⁷ and also an inscription of Dhanadeva, who claims therein to be the sixth in descent from the *senāpati* Puṣyamitra and styles himself *kośalādhipa* (king or ruler of Kośala)¹²⁸ As Dhanadeva's inscription is to be placed epigraphically not earlier than the middle of the first century B.C., it is likely that the reigns of these "seven mighty kings of Sāketa" spanned the period down to around the middle or end of the first century B.C.: namely down to the time when the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account was most probably composed (see section 12).

F. Anarchy, and Āmrāṭa in Pāṭaliputra (śloka 60 and 65-70b)

Having taken note of the reigns of certain kings in Sāketa, the *Yuga-Purāṇa* now reverts to an account of the kings of Pāṭaliputra. Since mention of the Śuṅgas is yet to come, it would seem that the account is at

127 See M.B. Mitchiner, *The Ancient & Classical World*, p.576.

128 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp.94-5.

this point intended to be chronologically continuous, taking up the narrative from the point where it left off with the departure of the Yavanas from Pāṭaliputra.

The account first speaks of an uprising amongst the peoples of Magadha, leading to a period of conflict during which Pāṭaliputra was deserted and the regnal succession uncertain. In the midst of this confusion, a certain Āmrāṭa is said to have temporarily usurped power: but to have then been replaced by a line of kings who may fairly safely be identified with the Śuṅgas (see G). The account paints a fiery and adverse picture of this Āmrāṭa: a person of low-born or outcaste status (Mleccha), bearing the epithet Lohitākṣa or “the red-eyed” and clad in red garments, advancing upon the city with his kinsmen in order to rob and plunder its helpless and ruler-less people; and, what was most heinous in the Brahmin-eyes of our author, destroying the established social system by establishing and promoting castes which had traditionally been outcaste—just as he himself is deemed to be an outcaste.

No mention of such a person is to be found in any other source. The name “Āmrāṭa” (or variant Āmlāṭa) does not seem to be a Sanskrit name, but a Sanskritisation of a non-Sanskritic original. The account relates that Āmrāṭa was not a native of Pāṭaliputra, but that he had gone there from elsewhere: and that all those who went (? with him) to the city approached it “through the desolate hill-area” (*śūnyam āsādyā parvatam*). This expression recalls the approach of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma to the Magadhan capital as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*: wherein, after proceeding along the northern bank of the Gaṅgā, they then crossed the Gaṅgā and the Śoṇa (near whose confluence Pāṭaliputra was situated) and reached the Magadhan city Rājagṛha (a short distance south of Pāṭaliputra) by crossing the Gorathagiri mountain, the present-day Barabar hills (*goratham girim āsādyā dadṛśur māgadham puram*).¹²⁹ Since, indeed, this is the only noteworthy range of hills in the vicinity of Pāṭaliputra, the account would seem to imply that Āmrāṭa reached Pāṭaliputra from the south, after crossing this range of hills.

It is to be noted that, in the Hāthīgumphā inscription, Khāravela relates that in his eighth regnal year he negotiated the Gorathagiri range of hills in order to reach Rājagṛha from Kāliṅga (line 8: *goradhagiriṃ dhātāpayitā rājagaham upapīḍayati*); while in his twelfth regnal year he again marched to Magadha, watered his horses and elephants in the Gaṅgā, caused the Māgadha king Brhaspatimitra to pay him homage,

subdued both Magadha and Aṅga, and took a Jain statue siezed by Nanda back to Kāliṅga (lines 11-12). Khāravela moreover describes himself as *siri-kaḍāra-śarīra-vat*, “he who has a tawney-coloured body” (line 2).¹³⁰ These points consequently suggest that Khāravela may be synonymous with the “Āmrāṭa” of this account. There are, however, a number of difficulties involved in making such identification. Apart from the difference in name, the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela dates fairly certainly from the 1st century B.C. Palaeographically, it is later than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 140 B.C.: see D above), and perhaps slightly later than the Nānāghat Śātavāhana inscriptions (c. 60 B.C.: see I below). Khāravela mentions that his period is 300 years—or, according to a less-probable interpretation, 103 years (*trivarṣaśatam*)—later than that of Nanda (line 6): and since the Nandas ruled from about 367 B.C. to 325 B.C., this would place Khāravela around either 50 B.C. or 250 B.C. The latter of these two dates is extremely unlikely: even if Khāravela was a contemporary of the later Mauryas (taking the latest possible date of 103 years after 325 B.C.), his mention Brhaspatimitra as the ruler of Magadha—and of his own subjugation of Magadha and Aṅga—is contradicted by both literary and numismatic sources relating to that period; and the “Mitra” kings were in any case contemporaries of the Śuṅgas and their successors, rather than of the Mauryas (see G below). Similarly, Khāravela’s mention of Śātakarṇi (line 4) as his contemporary points to a date in the mid-1st century B.C. Thus it is fairly certain that Khāravela did not go to Magadha after the Yavana incursion and before the reign of the Śuṅgas (c. 190 B.C.): but that he went there rather around 50 B.C. As the present account stands, therefore, it is impossible to identify Khāravela with Āmrāṭa. It is possible, however, that the account itself should be reinterpreted: and that the passage dealing with Āmrāṭa (*śloka*s 65-70 b) should be taken with the preceding *śloka*s 61-64 as a summary account of events, given before the main account reverts to the reigns of the Agniveśya kings. There would be several advantages to such an interpretation: in the first place, no “intruder”-king would be said to reign between the Yavana incursion and the Śuṅgas (an event to which no other source alludes); and in the second place, Āmrāṭa would be said to reign after the destruction of the Śaka king (c. 60 B.C.; see I below), whereby his identification with Khāravela would appear all the more likely. Such an interpretation would nonetheless necessitate a revision of the present form of the account, by dividing *śloka* 70 and

taking 70c-d—commencing *tato bhaviṣyati rājā*, “then there will be a king”—as the start of a new section. On balance, however, this difficulty does not seem insurmountable: and the account may consequently be interpreted as relating that the Mleccha Āmrāṭa—red-eyed and clothed in red—went to the Māgadha capital, robbed its people and destroyed the castes, at a time subsequent to the Śaka incursion (of about 60 B.C.) and before the end of the Kali Yuga (placed by our author around the mid-1st century B.C.: see I and J below). Such an interpretation accordingly suggests, for the reasons already noted, that “Āmrāṭa” of our account is to be identified with Khāravela.

G. *The rule of the Agniveśya kings (śloka 61 and 70c-81).*

The account goes into some detail in describing the reigns of certain kings called Agniveśyas. This name is apparently given both to the dynasty as a whole (śloka 61) and also to one of its prominent members, who is nonetheless not its founder (śloka 79-80). The first king mentioned is Gopāla, who is said to have been a co-regent with Puṣpaka (or Puṣyaka): thereafter came the reign of Puṣpaka alone, who succeeded by Anaraṇya; and he was in turn succeeded by a Brahmin called Vikuyaśas (śloka 70c-74). It is said that these kings ruled in Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra: and that during their reigns the city once again saw prosperity and an increase of population. The account then switches its focus of attention from Pāṭaliputra to the Bhadrakya (or Bhadrakya) land: it mentions two kings who ruled there, namely Agnimitra and Agniveśya. Agnimitra is said to wrought his own downfall by quarrelling with the Brahmins on account of an exceedingly beautiful young girl who was born there: while Agniveśya is said to have been a mighty sovereign who ultimately perished in a battle against the Śavaras.

The name “Agniveśya” for this line of kings is not known from other sources. Of the two regions over which they ruled, the location of the second—Bhadrakya—is not referred to elsewhere: the mention of the Śavaras (or Śabalas, as in śloka 63) suggests, however, that it was a region of the Vindhya. The Śavaras are listed in several places alongside the Andhras, Vaidarbhas, Pulindas and Vindhya-dwellers:¹³¹ the first two of these dwelt to the south of the Narmadā river, while the Pulindas dwelt around and to the west of Jabalpur and had their capital near

131 For example *Mahābhārata* 12.200.39; *Matsya Purāṇa* 114.46-48; also *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.18. A place named Bhadrāraka, probably around Baroda, is known; see Law, *Historical Geography*, p.277.

Vidiśā. The Śavaras are moreover probably to be connected with the present-day Savaris living around Bhopal and Gwalior: and this further suggests that the Bhadrakya land may have been in a similar or adjoining region. This is made still more likely by the reference to Agnimitra's infatuation with a beautiful young girl of that land: for this story forms the basis of Kālidāsa's play *Mālavikāgnimitra* (“Agnimitra and Mālavikā”), wherein Agnimitra Śuṅga appears as the viceroy of Puṣpamitra in Vidiśā. These two points therefore suggest that both Agnimitra and Agniveśya ruled over the region around Vidiśā: and further, that they were both Śuṅga kings.

Of the four kings of this Agniveśya line who are said to have ruled in Pāṭaliputra, two are known from other sources. A seal found in the excavations at Pāṭaliputra bears the name of Gopāla,¹³² who is otherwise unmentioned in other literary accounts: while the co-founder and subsequently sole ruler Puṣpaka may probably be identified with the Śuṅga-founder Puṣyamitra. It is indeed uncertain whether his name was Puṣyamitra or Puṣpamitra:¹³³ the letters *p* and *y* are among the easiest to confuse in manuscripts, and many Purāṇas—in either some or all of their manuscripts—as well as Kālidāsa refer to him as Puṣpamitra. Conversely, several manuscripts of *Yuga-Purāṇa* refer to him as Puṣyaka. The Purāṇas do not refer to Puṣyamitra as having been a co-regent at the start of his reign: but they equally do not refer to Agnimitra as having been a co-ruler with Puṣyamitra at the start of his reign, as is stated by Kālidāsa. In several contexts the Purāṇas similarly list as consecutive the reigns of kings who were in all probability contemporary rulers for at least part of their reigns: as for example in the case of the Śātavāhanas. More significantly, however, they do not list any of the other kings given in this account: but instead they give a list of nine Śuṅgas, whose names usually appear as Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha, Vasumitra, Andhraka or Bhadraka, Pulindaka, Ghoṣa, Bhāgavata or Samābhāga and Devabhūmi.

Numismatically, the situation during the Śuṅga period would seem to have been far less straightforward than either of these lists would suggest. The post-Maurya period witnessed the rise of a large number of ruling dynasties in several parts of northern India. The principal successor of the Mauryas was a line of kings who issued a series of anonymous silver and copper punch-marked coins: these were issued for a short

132 D.B. Spooner, ‘Mr. Rajan Tata's Excavations at Pāṭaliputra’, p.79.

133 E.G. Bühler, ‘Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra?’.

time from mints in Pāṭaliputra and (briefly) Mathurā, and then subsequently from mints in Vidiśā, Ujjain and Eran.¹³⁴ It is regrettable that the series—like all punch-marked series—bears no names of the issuing rulers: but we may safely assign it to the line of Śuṅga kings. In western India and the Panjab, a number of small states and tribes asserted their independence and issued coins: such as the Audumbaras, the Trigartas, the Kulutas, the Vṛṣṇis, the Kunindas, the Kurus, the Purus, the Agodakas, and the Yaudheyas.¹³⁵ Towering over these in central northern India, however, were two distinct lines of rulers, who issued two equally distinctive series of coins: namely the kings of Mathurā and Pañcāla. In Mathurā, the brief issue of (Śuṅga) punch-marked coinage was soon superseded by a series of coins struck in the name of Gomitra. Thereafter reigned a succession of “Mitra” kings, including Sūryamitra, Brahmamitra, Dadhamitra, and Viṣṇumitra: these were succeeded by “Datta” kings—Puruṣadatta, Śeṣadatta, Bhavadatta, and others—who ruled until they were replaced around A.D. 1 by the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rajuvula.¹³⁶ Pañcāla in the post-Maurya period—with its capital at Ahicchatra near modern Bareilly—was ruled first by “Gupta”, “Pala” and “Sena” kings: Damagupta, Rudragupta and Jayagupta; Viśvapala and Yajñapala; Yugasena and Vasusena. These were then succeeded by a long dynasty of “Mitra” kings: Jyeṣṭhamitra, Dhruvamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Jayamitra, Indramitra and Varuṇamitra; Phālgunimitra, Bhūmimitra and Sūryamitra; Bhānumitra, Agnimitra, and Brhaspatimitra; and then by Bhadrageṣa, whereafter Pañcāla was absorbed into the Kuṣāṇa empire around A.D. 80.¹³⁷ Further to the east, we have already seen that Kośala was ruled by a separate line of kings in Sāketa;¹³⁸ while in Kauśāmbī—the capital of Vatsa—there arose a further line of rulers issuing a distinctive series of coins, among whom were Brhaspatimitra, Aśvageṣa, Parvata, Agnimitra, Jyeṣṭhamitra, Sarpamitra, and Dhanadeva, as well as several further “Mitra” kings.¹³⁹ Coins of further “Mitra” kings—including Indramitra—have been found at Pāṭaliputra:¹⁴⁰ while the names of two other “Mitra” kings—namely

134 M.B. Mitchiner, *The Ancient & Classical World*, pp.550-555, 580-582.

135 Ibid., *IGISC* vol.7 pp.625-652.

136 Ibid., pp.652-658.

137 Ibid., pp.662-672.

138 See E above.

139 M.B. Mitchiner, *The Ancient & Classical World*, pp.577-8; also P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, pp.39-40, who names a number of further Mitra kings.

140 D.B. Spooner, ‘Mr. Rajan Tata’s Excavations at Pāṭaliputra’, pp.79, 84-85.

Brahmamitra and Indramitra—have been found inscribed on railings at Bodh Gayā.¹⁴¹ In addition to these, other “Mitra” kings are known to have ruled in the Panjab (Āryamitra, Mahāmītra, Mahābhūtimītra and Bhānumītra) and among the Purus (Datamītra).¹⁴² Since few of these various lines of rulers are mentioned in literary sources, it is clearly difficult to know the precise relationship or connection between them: although it may be said that each of the series of coins associated with particular regions is relatively distinctive, and that therefore—despite certain recurrences of names—each of the rulers who issued coins in particular series is quite separate and distinct from rulers who issued coins in other series. The same indeed holds true for the Śuṅgas and their anonymous series of punch-marked coins: and it would seem quite illegitimate to attempt—as has been done by number of writers—to connect individual Śuṅga rulers with coins of “Mitra” and other kings of Mathurā and Pañcāla, merely on the basis of recurrent names. What does emerge very clearly from the coinage of this period is that, during the post-Maurya period and before the rise of the Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas, there arose a number of small kingdoms throughout northern India, foremost among which were those of the Śuṅgas, the Pañcālas and the Māthuras: and that all three of these included a sizeable number of “Mitra” kings. We know that at least one of these post-Maurya rulers—namely Dhana-deva of Sāketa in Kośala—claimed descent from Puṣyamitra Śuṅga:¹⁴³ and it is quite possible that others in these lines of kings were similarly interrelated. We might even go so far as to suggest that Puṣyamitra was instrumental in establishing certain viceroys or regents in such regions as Kośala, Pañcāla and Mathurā who—or whose successors—thereafter asserted their own independence: thus the Gopāla in our account who is said to have ruled alongside Puṣpaka/Puṣyamitra might in fact be Gomitra, who founded the line of the “Mitra” kings of Mathurā. This suggestion, it must be admitted, is speculative: but what is clear is that the Śuṅgas very rapidly lost whatever authority they may have held in northern India; their power held out briefly in Pāṭaliputra, but then the focus of the Śuṅga realm shifted to their domains in Malwa, centred on the three cities of Vidiśā, Eran and Ujjain.

Śuṅga coinage, being anonymous and uninscribed, can clearly offer

141 J.H. Marshall, ‘Archaeological Exploration in India 1907-8’, p.1096; also *ASI Annual Report* 1907-8, pp.40-41.

142 M.B. Mitchiner, *IGISC* vol.7 pp.644-647.

143 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.94-95.

no help in trying to discern the individual rulers of the Śuṅga dynasty. Slight help is given by inscriptions, where we have mention of Bhāga-vata¹⁴⁴—who is also listed in the Purāṇas as the penultimate Śuṅga king: but on the other hand we also have inscriptional reference to the Vidiśā king Bhāgabhadra who received the Yavana envoy Heliodorus,¹⁴⁵ yet who is not listed in the Purāṇas.¹⁴⁶ It must be admitted that, in the light of this seemingly disparate evidence, it remains difficult to throw definite light upon the exact line of Śuṅga succession. Yet this section in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* relating to the “Agniveśya” kings does seem to correspond essentially in a number of features to what we know from other sources about the Śuṅgas, the rulers of both Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā.

One further point of interest in this account may be noted: namely that Agnimitra is said to have reigned in the Bhadrakā land “in the Kīlaka (year)” (*śloka* 77). The “Kīlaka” is the name for the 42nd year in the astronomical 60-year cycle of Jupiter: and bearing in mind that this account appears within an astronomical work which elsewhere deals with the cycle of Jupiter,¹⁴⁷ the reference may accordingly be of some significance. The Kīlaka would denote in this context the year 183 B.C. (and subsequently 123 B.C.): and it may therefore be that, according to our author, it was in that year that Agnimitra became viceroy in Vidiśā to Puṣyamitra. Assuming that Puṣyamitra overthrew the last Maurya king around 189 B.C., this would accord with Kālidāsa’s account that Agnimitra’s infatuation with a young Mālava girl occurred while Puṣyamitra was reigning, and while a (former) Maurya minister still figured prominently in political affairs.¹⁴⁸ The evidence does not, however, allow us to proceed further than to state this possibility.

H. *The reign of king Satuvāra (śloka 87)*

The account next moves on—after an interlude describing the evil conduct of men and women—to speak of a king named Satuvāra, whose reign is spoken of as having been an oppressive one, and who is said to have died after the tenth year of his reign had passed.

The account of this king is immediately followed by an account of

144 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.89-90

145 Ibid., pp.88-89.

146 Sircar has suggested—somewhat speculatively—that he may be the same as Bhadraka, whom the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* lists in place of Andhraka.

147 In Aṅga 5 of the *Gārgiṣa jyotiṣa*.

148 *Mālavikāgnimitra* 1.27.1 & ff.

a Śaka incursion: and the structure of these two episodes resembles that of the two earlier adjacent accounts of the oppressive reign of Śālīśuka followed by the Yavana incursion. In the earlier episodes, the first is seemingly chronologically adjacent to the second: it acts, indeed, almost as an introduction to and explanation of the second, with the oppressive reign being followed by an invasion of foreigners. The present two episodes, being structured in the same way, may similarly be intended to be chronologically adjacent to each other: with Satuvāra’s oppressive reign providing, along with the generally evil conduct of men, the rationale for the Śaka incursion.

The name “Satuvāra”, although it is not found in this form in other sources, bears comparison with “Śātavāhana”—the family or *kula* name of the Āndhra or Śātavāhana dynasty of kings. It is by no means improbable that the former name represents an adaptation of the Dravidian form of the latter: in which case we might infer that the account is again at this point not chronologically continuous, but now alters its attention to around the middle of the first century B.C.

The Śaka incursion is linked, in Brahminical and Jain sources, with the era of 58 B.C.: and with the reign of the legendary king Vikrama. We shall be examining these in a moment: but it is worth noting here that, according to Jain sources, a group of Śakas came to Ujjain upon the invitation of one of its citizens, who was outraged at the conduct of the king of Ujjain (there named as Gadabhilla) and succeeded in this way in having him dethroned. A similarity in structure between these episodes can once again be seen, wherein the reign of an oppressive king is followed—or in the case of the Jain legends, terminated—by the advent of Śakas. According to numismatic evidence—which we shall examine in greater detail below—the ruler of Ujjain around 50 B.C. was not Gadabhilla but one of the early Śātavāhana kings: and if indeed we accept that a group of Śakas penetrated to Ujjain at around that period, it would have been a Śātavāhana king whom they encountered there. Seen from this standpoint, therefore, the account of king Satuvāra as reigning just prior to the Śaka incursion of around the middle of the first century B.C. strengthens the possibility already suggested that Satuvāra is to be identified as one of the early Śātavāhana kings. This question is best considered, however, in connection with the account of the Śaka incursion, to which we now turn.

I. *The Śaka incursion and defeat (ślokas 62-64 and 88-89)*

The account relates that a mighty Śaka king, in his greed for wealth, came on a plundering raid and destroyed large number of men ("a quarter of living being"): but that, during the course of his plundering, he was killed by the Kālīṅga king Śata and by a certain group of (Koveḍukaṇḍa ?) Śabalas—whereafter the Śakas returned to their own city with a large amount ("a quarter") of wealth and booty.

The exact place to which the Śakas came is not mentioned in the account: but the reference to their defeat by the Śabalas or peoples of the central Vindhya (see above) would be fully in accord with their having come to Ujjain. We may also bear in mind that the account itself was quite possibly composed in Ujjain (see section 11): and this would be adequate reason for the episode being recounted in some detail.

The main further source which refers to a Śaka incursion is the Kālaka-cycle of legends, which are usually to be found at the end of manuscripts of the Jain *Kalpa Sūtra* ascribed to Bhadrabāhu. This work forms part of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, and was probably composed around the 5th or 6th century A.D.: many of the extant manuscripts date from the 13th and 14th centuries A.D., and the number of different versions current at that period suggests that the basic story had originated at a considerably earlier date.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, the fact that these legends have been incorporated within a canonical work and adapted to serve the purpose of explaining a particular ceremonial point—namely the alteration of the date of the Paryuṣaṇā festival by Kālaka—similarly points to an earlier origin. These legends basically relate that king Gadabhilla came to the throne of Ujjain in 75 B.C.¹⁵⁰ and established a dynasty which lasted for 152 years, until the start of the Śaka era in A.D. 78. Thirteen years after his accession—namely in 62 B.C.—he was expelled from the city by a confederation of Śaka chiefs, who remained there for

149 Different versions of the legends have been usefully collected in W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*. Brown distinguishes 17 main versions, and lists several different manuscripts of each version. Those which are particularly relevant in the present context are among the oldest: namely numbers 1 (Long Anonymous Version), 2, 4, 5, 8 (the *Prabhāvacarita*), 9, 11 (by Bhavadevasūri), and 12 (by Dharmaprabhasūri). See also H. Jacobi, 'Das Kālakacarya-Kathānaka', *ZDMG* 34, 1880, pp.247-318; and S.M. Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story (sic)*, 2 vols.

150 The date ascribed to Gadabhilla may also be arrived at by calculating forwards from the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* in 527 B.C.: thereafter, Pālaka is said to have ruled for 60 years; the Nandas for 155 years; the Mauryas for 108 years; Puṣyamitra for 30 years; Balamitra and Bhānumitra for 60 years; and Nabhovāhana for 40 years.

four years: but then his son Vikrama reconquered the city in 58 B.C., established his own era, and reigned for 60 years. Examining the account in greater detail, it is said that Gadabhilla aroused the anger of the monk Kālaka by seducing the latter's sister Sarasvatī: whereupon Kālaka travelled to Śaka-kūla (the west bank of the river Indus), where the nobles were called Śāhis and their supreme overlord Śāhāṇuśāhi. He stayed there as guest of one of the Śāhis: until one day this Śāhi—along with 95 other Śāhis—incurred the displeasure of the Śāhāṇuśāhi, who ordered them to take their own lives. Kālaka persuaded them to travel instead with him across the Indus to Hinduka, where they eventually overthrew king Gadabhilla and took possession of Ujjain. There they came to be called Śakas, because they came from Śaka-kūla: and Kālaka then left the Śakas in Ujjain, and went to the court of Śālivāhana in Pratiṣṭhāna. Some four years afterwards, these Śakas were defeated and expelled from Ujjain by Vikrama the son of Gadabhilla. Certain other versions of the legend add further details: notably the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, which relates that Vikrama was originally living in Pratiṣṭhāna but, hearing that his mother had died in Ujjain, he went to that city, became king, and ruled over 96 rival monarchs.¹⁵¹

The precise detail given of the Śaka-rulers' titles—Shah and Shahanshah, rather than the simple "Śaka" found in all other Indian sources—suggests that the account may have some factual basis. It will be noted that this narrative speaks of a close relation between Vikrama and the Śātavāhanas—Śālivāhana being a variant of Śātavāhana, the two names often interchanging even within individual texts. This connection is further amplified in a large number of further legendary accounts which speak of the hostility which later arose between Vikrama of Ujjain and Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna (the main Śātavāhana capital on the river Godāvari). The latter accounts are derived primarily from the now-lost *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya—a work referred to and praised by such writers as Bāṇa, Daṇḍin and Subandhu¹⁵²—and are to be found in such works as the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha* of Budhasvāmin (c. 9th century A.D.), the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, and the *Kathāsari-tāgara* of Somadeva (both c. 11th century A.D.). A further notable source is the *Vikramacarita* or *Siṃhāsanaadvātriṃśaka* (c. 12th century A.D.). Guṇāḍhya himself is said in these to have been a minister of

151 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, chapter 1: *vikramārka-prabandha*.

152 See *Harṣacarita*, introductory verse 17: *Kādambarī*, para.106; *Kāvyaadarśa* 1.38; *Vāsavadattā* vv.110, 147.

king Śātavāhana at Pratiṣṭhāna, and to have related his *Bṛhatkathā* to the king. In all these literary sources, therefore, it is said that king Vikrama became king of Ujjain, after defeating a group of Śakas: and that he had a close connection, and subsequently rivalry, with king Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna—the latter of whom is often said to have been proclaimed king by the inhabitants of Pratiṣṭhāna when he solved a legal dispute which king Vikrama had been unable to resolve, this then being the cause of their subsequent rivalry.

The Purāṇas make no mention of any Śaka incursion: nor do they speak of a king named Vikrama. Equally, however, they do not speak of a king named Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana: but they do refer to the Śātavāhana dynasty by another name, namely as the Āndhras. Their lists of Āndhras or Śātavāhanas¹⁵³ contain the names of many kings, a sizeable number of whom are also known from inscriptions and coins. The first king, who is said to have been *andhrajātiya* or of Andhra birth, is named either Śiśuka, Sindhuka or similar, and is said to have reigned for 23 years: he was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇa, who reigned for either 10 (*Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* generally) or 18 (*Matsya*, *Vāyu*) years: and Kṛṣṇa was in turn succeeded by his (or Śiśuka's) son Śrī Śātakarṇi, who reigned for 56 years.¹⁵⁴ All three of these kings are also known from inscriptions: Kṛṣṇa is known—in the Prakritic form Kanha—from a Nasik cave inscription,¹⁵⁵ while both Simuka (i.e. the Purāṇic Śiśuka etc.) and Śrī Śātakarṇi are referred to in Nānāghat cave inscriptions (in the vicinity of Poona).¹⁵⁶ Kṛṣṇa is spoken of as a member of the Śātavāhana family (*sādvāhanakule kanhe*); while Simuka is referred to as Simuka-Śātavāhana (*rāyā simukasātavāhano sirimāto*), from which it would appear that he incorporated the family name “Śātavāhana” with his own name.

Numismatically also, we have evidence of three early Śātavāhana kings—or rather, of three names which appear on early Śātavāhana coinage. The first of these is Śātavāhana—usually spelt (*siri*) *satavahana* or *sadavahana*—whose coins have all been found at or around Nevasa,

near Paithan or Pratiṣṭhāna on the river Godāvarī.¹⁵⁷ The other two are Śrī Śātakarṇi and Śrī Śata: both of whose coins were issued from mints in Eran, Ujjain and Tripuri, as well as from the Nevasa mint near Pratiṣṭhāna. The latter two kings are, moreover, the only Śātavāhana rulers whose coins were minted north of the river Narmadā.¹⁵⁸ We may also note here that there is a series of early coins from Ujjain which bear non-Sanskritic names—such as Rajula (to be distinguished from the later Kṣatrapa Rajuvula, whose coin-types differ considerably), Mahu, Dāsa, Sauma, Valāka and Hamugama—which are quite possibly attributable to certain early Śaka rulers of Ujjain.¹⁵⁹ The ensuing Mālava coinage, continuing into the Gupta period, mostly bear the legends *jaya malavanam*, *malavanam jaya*, or simply *jaya*—“the victory of the Mālavas”. We should perhaps keep in mind here that use of the era of 58 B.C.—which was almost certainly founded by the Śaka king Azes¹⁶⁰—was perpetuated, from around 150 A.D., solely by the Mālavas: it was referred to firstly as the Kṛta era, “handed down by the Mālava people”,¹⁶¹ then from around A.D. 400 as the Mālava era: until from around A.D. 750 onwards it is termed the Vikrama era, commemorating the victory of the legendary Mālava hero Vikrama over the Śakas. It should be remembered that “Vikrama” is primarily an epithet, meaning “the valiant one”: and as such, it was adopted by both Samudra Gupta and Candragupta II, as well as by many Cālukya rulers of the Deccan. The legends of “Vikrama”—like those of “Śātavāhana”—need not, therefore, be taken to refer to a particular individual named Vikrama: but there would seem ample evidence, both literary and numismatic, to suggest that they refer to a famous victory gained by a king of Malwa and/or by the peoples of Malwa over a certain Śaka chief or chiefs: a victory which took place at a time very close to that of the founding of an era in 58 B.C., and which over the centuries came to be regarded as the cause of the founding of that era.

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* account would corroborate this viewpoint: since it mentions that the Śaka king was killed not merely by another king,

153 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.1.22-28; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 2.3.74.161-170; *Matsya Purāṇa* 273.1-17; *Vāyu Purāṇa* 2.37.342-352; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 4.24.12-13.

154 A number of manuscripts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* state that Śrī Śātakarṇi reigned for 10 years, and then subsequently mention another Śātakarṇi who ruled for 56 years: see Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p.39.

155 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.189-190.

156 Ibid., pp.190-197.

157 M.B. Mitchiner, *IGISC* vol.9 p.865.

158 Ibid., pp.866-870: also preceding text.

159 Ibid., p.807; discussed by Bajpai, ‘Newly discovered rare coins of early Śakas’.

160 This is made almost certain by the recent discovery of a Kharoṣṭhi inscription dated in the year 63 *maharajasa ayasa atidasa*; see Bailey, ‘Two Kharoṣṭhi casket inscriptions from Avaca’, *JRAS* 1978 no. 1 pp.3-13.

161 As in the Mandasor inscription of the time of Naravarman, year 461 = A.D. 401; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.397-398.

but also by the Śabalas—who as we have seen were inhabitants of the central Vindhyan region which was a part of the Mālava territories. There is, however, one point in the account which we have not yet examined: namely the statement that the Śaka king was killed by—or on account of—a certain *kaliṅgaśatarāja*, “a Śata king of Kālīṅga” or “king Śata of Kālīṅga”. The name of this king immediately recalls the king Śata who is known from his coinage to have ruled both south of the Narmadā and also in Ujjain and the surrounding area. The account mentions however, that he was a Kālīṅga king: a point which seemingly gainsays any proposed identification of the two Śatas. We do nonetheless know of two other kings bearing a form of the name Śata, both of whom were kings of Kālīṅga: namely Mahārāja Mahāmeghavāhana Śrī Sada (= Śata), referred to as the lord of Kālīṅga and Mahīśaka in an inscription from Guntupally;¹⁶² and Mahārāja Mānasada, referred to in an inscription from near Guntur.¹⁶³ The titles Mahārāja and Mahāmeghavāhana also appear in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela:¹⁶⁴ and Mahāmeghavāhana may probably be taken as a family-name, parallel to Śātavāhana. The two Śata inscriptions are epigraphically somewhat later than the Khāravela inscription, which probably places them in the early 1st century A.D.: since Khāravela recounts that in his second year he marched his army westwards to the Kṛṣṇavenṇvā or Kṛṣṇā river “without paying heed to Śātakarṇi”,¹⁶⁵ thereby indicating that he was a contemporary of Śātakarṇi. Sircar has suggested that these Kālīṅga rulers bear (seemingly) Śātavāhana names because they were born of Śātavāhana princesses:¹⁶⁶ and in view of the reference in our account to Śata being in some sense a Kālīṅgan king, it would seem quite plausible that marital alliances between the Śātavāhanas and the Kālīṅgas took place. We should, however, not forget that the Purāṇas always refer to the former of these rulers not as Śātavāhanas but as Āndhras and *andhra-jātīya*. The question of the place of origin of the Śātavāhanas or Āndhras remains uncertain: although most sources would seem to locate them consistently around the northern and central Deccan, in the region which formed the central part of the subsequent Śātavāhana empire and which bordered

162 See Sircar, ‘Some Epigraphic and Manuscript records’, *JAIH* vol.3, 1970, pp.30-36: this is a revised edition, after R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupally Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravela*.

163 Sircar, ‘Two Inscriptions from Guntur District’, *Ep.Ind.* 32 pp.82-90.

164 Hāthīgumphā inscription, line 1.

165 *Ibid.*, line 4: *acitayitā sātakaṛṇiṇi*.

166 Sircar, ‘Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records’, p.34.

in the east on Kālīṅga. We may perhaps infer from the reference to Śata as being a Kālīṅga king, and from the known presence of other Śata king in the extreme southernmost part of Kālīṅga (present-day Andhra Pradesh), that the kings of the Śātavāhana-*kula* belonged to a branch of the Andhras in the south-east part of the Andhra territories: some of whom moved thence north-westwards—and, for a time, still further north into Malwa. Certainly some early connection between the Śātavāhana-*kula* and Kālīṅga is implied in the name *kaliṅgaśatarāja*: perhaps even that the Śātavāhana-*kula* was a family whose members dwelt both among the Āndhras and also among the Kālīṅgas. Khāravela’s statement that he paid no heed to Śātakarṇi when he marched to the river Kṛṣṇā (namely to the region in which king Sada of Kālīṅga subsequently had an inscription engraved) implies that Śātakarṇi either ruled over or had some other connection with that region; but on present evidence we can have little certainty as to the precise connection between the Śātavāhana/Śata kings and Kālīṅga.

According to the *Yuga-Purāṇa* account, it was the Śata king—or king Śata—who, together with the Śabalas, defeated the Śaka king. As we have seen, later literary sources relate that it was “Vikrama” who defeated the Śaka chiefs in 58 B.C. and ousted them from the city of Ujjain—a victory which seems to have been particularly perpetuated among the Mālava peoples: while numismatically, the Śātavāhanas temporarily extended their power into the Ujjain region at around this period, under Śrī Śātakarṇi and Śrī Śata.¹⁶⁷ According to the Vikrama legends, the Śakas remained in Ujjain for four years, whereafter Vikrama—who in some accounts had been living in Pratiṣṭhāna—defeated them and reigned for 60 years: according to the Purāṇas, Śrī Śātakarṇi ruled for 56 years; while numismatically, it was under Śrī Śātakarṇi that Śātavāhana power was extended north from Pratiṣṭhāna to Ujjain and Malwa. Combining these various sources, the evidence strongly suggests that Śrī Śātakarṇi is to be identified with the Śata king of our account who, with the help of the Śabalas, defeated a Śaka king and his followers—and thereafter ruled over Ujjain: and that it was Śrī Śātakarṇi who, by this deed, became celebrated in legends, and whose character eventually evolved

167 This is also indicated by the mention of Śātakarṇi in a Sāñci inscription (*rāṇo siri sātakaṇisa*), which is engraved on the rear top architrave of the southern gateway of the great Stūpa, dated by Marshall around the middle of the 1st century B.C.; Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchi*, pp.13, 52.

into that of king "Vikrama", "the valiant one's. This episode of the defeat of the Śaka king most probably took place, therefore, not—as has been pointed out—in precisely 58 B.C.: but nonetheless at a date not far distant from this, and at a date sufficiently close to 58 B.C. whereby the Mālava peoples, who had inherited the use of the era of 58 B.C., could subsequently come to associate the foundation of that era with their legendary hero "Vikrama" who had expelled the Śakas from their city of Ujjain.

We may now give a summarised reconstruction based on the above discussion. King Simuka-Śātavāhana—as he styles himself in inscriptions is the same as the Śiśuka/Sindhuka etc. of the Purāṇas who founded the Āndhra dynasty: and he is probably also the same as the "Satavahana" who struck the earliest Śātavāhana coinage. He is quite possible also the same as the "Satuvara" of our account, who is said to have ruled sternly shortly before the Śaka incursion. The coinage struck in the name of "Satavahana" is scarce, and the few extant examples have all come from the Pratiṣṭhāna region: but it is quite possible that, towards the end of his reign, Simuka extended his power for a time into Malwa. Simuka is perhaps also the same as the legendary king Gadabhilla of Jain sources, the founder of a dynasty and father of "Vikrama" the subsequent ruler of Ujjain. Simuka probably reigned from about 80 B.C. to 60 B.C.: then around 60 B.C. a group of Śakas penetrated to Malwa and briefly established power in Ujjain, from where they issued their own coins. These Śakas were soon defeated and expelled from Ujjain by Śrī Śātakarṇi, who established—or firmly re-established—Śātavāhana power in Malwa. Śrī Śātakarṇi is the same as the (Śrī) Śātakarṇi mentioned in the Purāṇas and in the Sāncī inscription; and he is probably the same as the Śata king mentioned in our account, who defeated the Śaka king. The "Śata" mentioned in our account and on coins—but not in the Purāṇas—is quite possibly an abbreviation of either "Śātrkarṇi" or "Śātavāhana": there is certainly an essential difference between the coinage of Śrī Śātakarṇi and that of Śrī Śata, and since the Purāṇas make no mention of "Śata", it is likely that "Śata" was either an abbreviated form of Śātakarṇi or a designation used by a number of succeeding Śātavāhana kings—just as several later Śātavāhana kings styled themselves "Śātakarṇi" in addition to their personal names. It is probable that Śrī Śātakarṇi was also the ruler later celebrated in legends as "Vikrama", or "The Valiant": a title which was doubtless popularised by Candragupta II in celebration of his defeat of the Śakas, and which was subsequently—perhaps even previously—applied also to Śrī Śātakarṇi in celebration of his expulsion of the

Śakas from Ujjain.¹⁶⁸ It is also quite likely that the other main item mentioned in the Vikrama legends—namely the subsequent rivalry which arose between "Vikrama in Ujjain and "Śātavāhana/Śālivāhana" in Pratiṣṭhāna, wherein "Śātavāhana" was proclaimed king of Pratiṣṭhāna in defiance of Vikrama—similarly had a basis of historical fact: and that the Śātavāhana realms in Malwa became estranged from those south of the Narmadā following a rift between the deputised rulers or co-regents of these areas—which resulted, as we know from coins, in the loss of Malwa from the Śātavāhana realm after the reign (s) of Śrī Śātakarṇi/Śrī Śata. This latter question cannot, however, be further pursued in the present context: and we may merely record that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* helps at this point to throw useful light upon the earliest period of Śātavāhana rule.

J. *Regions in which men will survive and prosper (ślokas 98-113)*

The conflict with the Śakas constitutes, for our author, the final event at the end of the Kali Yuga: comparable to the conflicts which occurred at the end of each of the three preceding Yugas. The remaining part of the text deals firstly with the difficulties of life at the end of the Yuga, and with the drying-up of several rivers of northern India (*ślokas* 90-97): and it then goes on to describe how, after this, men will survive and pass to a new (Kṛta) Yuga in certain select areas. The locations of these areas will be examined individually in section 11: suffice it to note here that they comprise virtually the entire region between the Vindhya and the river Kṛṣṇā (modern western and central Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra), together with the southern part of the eastern Ghats in Orissa, and the area around the river Kāverī in Tamil Nadu. Our author clearly implies that, while the rest of India fell into ruin at that time, these areas alone would witness the survival of men and the dawn of a new golden age.

It cannot fail to be noticed that, after the previous mention of apparently Śātavāhana kings, the account now relates that men will survive and prosper almost exclusively in those areas which formed part of the Śātavāhana empire. The list of regions given in this section of the account suggests, therefore, that our author was writing at a time when these particular regions were at the start of a period of renewed pros-

168 It may also be noted that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. A.D. 107-131), who claims to have defeated the Śakas, is similarly described by the epithet "Vikrama": *vara-vāraṇa-vikrama-cāru-vikrama*; see Sircar, *Select Inscriptions I*, pp.203-207.

perity: and probably at a time when the Śātavāhanas were still consolidating their hold over their newly-founded empire. This section of the account is, therefore, of some importance for assessing the date at which the account as a whole was composed: and it will accordingly be referred to again in this connection in section 12.

11. THE PLACE OF COMPOSITION

The *Yuga-Purāṇa* mentions a number of places which are geographically identifiable, and which give an indication of the main regions with which it is concerned. The following account draws primarily upon the works of Law and Raychaudhuri.¹⁶⁹

The text speaks firstly of the founding of Puṣpapura/Pāṭaliputra (the capital of Magadha: modern Patna), as also of the Māgadhas: and it refers to a number of kings who ruled there. It speaks also of Sāketa (the capital of Kośala, earlier called Ayodhyā) and its kings: and of the Bhadrakya land, which was probably the region around and to the west and south-west of Vidiśā (modern Besnagar, near Bhopal).¹⁷⁰ The text also mentions Kaliṅga (*śloka* 63), and the Śabalas or Śavaras (*ślokas* 63, 80-81): the latter being a people of Dakṣiṇapatha or the Deccan, associated with the Vaidarbhas, Andhras, Vindhya-dwellers and Pulindas,¹⁷¹ and usually identified with the present-day Savaralu of the Vizigapatam hills (the eastern Ghats) and with the Savaris living in Madhya Pradesh around Gwalior and Bhopal.

The list of rivers in *ślokas* 93-94 comprises the Gaṅgā (Ganges); Sindhusāgara (mouths of the Indus); Irāvati (Rāvi, in the Panjab); Viśikhā (otherwise unknown: but the variant reading Vipāśā in R is the Beas, in the Panjab); Vetravati (Betwa, in Madhya Pradesh); Suvarṇā (the identification is uncertain: either the Son in Bihar/Madhya Pradesh, the Suvarṇarekhā in Bihar, or the Mahānadī in Orissa on which Suvarṇapura/Sonpur is situated); Kauśiki (Kośi, in Bihar); and Sarasvatī (the river is famed as one of the most sacred in India, but its precise location is uncertain—mainly since parts of it are said to have dried up; probably originally flowing from the Himālayas between the Śatadru and the Yamunā, and joining the Indus shortly before flowing into the Arabian Sea, but now drying up in the Thar desert). All of these rivers are predominantly in northern India, from the Panjab to Bihar.

169 B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*; H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*.

170 This is especially suggested by its association with Agnimitra: discussed in section 10 G.

171 E.g. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.18: *Mahābhārata* 12.200.39: *Matsya Purāṇa* 114.46-48,

The twelve *maṇḍalas* or regions in which men are said to survive at the end of the Kali Yuga (*ślokas* 98-113) are as follows:

Region 1-2 By the river Gavedhukā, eight *yojanas* (? 20 miles) broad and flowing past the Ajātā mountain: the locations of both of these are uncertain, but the breadth (clearly an exaggeration, yet indicative of a very broad extent) and extent (over two regions) of the river suggest an identification with the Godāvarī, or perhaps less likely (since shorter) the Mahānadi.

3 On the borders of the ocean: since the next region is to the south-east of this one, the western ocean (Arabian Sea) must be intended.

3a In a great forest in the adjacent region to the south-east.

4 By mount Pālapañjara, on the banks of the river Narmadā: the Pālapiñjara mountain is mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata; while the river is well-famed, running along the southern edge of the Vindhya.

5 In a great forest in the southern parts of mount Mahendra: the southern section of the Eastern Ghats.

6 On the banks of the river Kāverī: the Cauvery, in present-day Tamil Nadu.

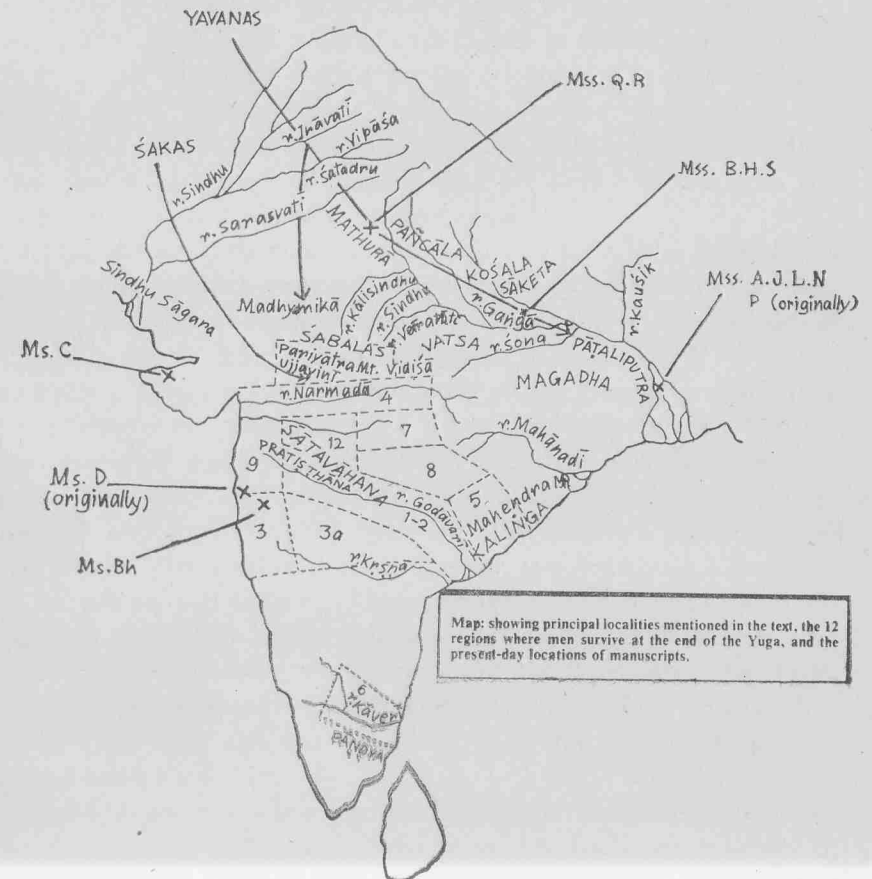
7 In the vicinity of Bhojakaṭa: a part of Vidarbha or Berar, the abode of the Bhojas.

8 In a great forest in the adjoining realms of Kuvinda: the identification is uncertain, but evidently a region adjacent to Bhojakaṭa.

9 By mount Trikūṭa: in Devikūṭa probably the abode of the Traikūṭakas, around present-day Nasik in the north-west Deccan.

10 By mount Jaradgava or Śūla: the identification is uncertain.

11 By mount Trikūṭa in the Pāriyātra mountains: in the western section of the Vindhyas.



- 12 In the Bhadreyaka by the river Aśokātī, in the Pañcākānana forest: the first two are uncertain, but the Pañcakānana is probably identical with the Pañcavatikānana near the source of the river Godāvārī.

The accompanying map illustrates these various geographical localities.

It can be seen from examining these various localities that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is well-acquainted on the one hand with various regions of northern India—which are mentioned in the context of Kali Yuga—and also on the other hand with a number of regions in the Deccan and in the extreme south of India—which are mentioned as “survival-regions” for the start of a new (Kṛta) Yuga. The twelve “survival-regions” clearly consist primarily of areas in present-day Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh: and this consequently suggest that the author of this text was particularly well-acquainted with these areas

As has already been noted in an earlier context, the *Mahābhārata* relates a tradition which associates Garga/Vṛddha-Garga with the river Sarasvatī, where he is said to have received and imported knowledge of the *jyotiṣa*-work consisting of sixty-four *aṅgas* or divisions.¹⁷² We can unfortunately not place too much reliance on the geographical accuracy of this statement as evidence for the place of composition of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*: primarily since the Sarasvatī is often used—like the Gaṅgā—as a symbol of sanctity, hallowing (and thus giving greater authority to) the person or thing connected with it, rather than as a precise geographical locality; its locality was in any case, as noted above, a matter of some uncertainty and dispute. These passages should perhaps be interpreted on a level with a further *Mahābhārata* passage, which relates that Garga was the *sāmvaṣṭara* or astrologer of the legendary king Prthu Vainya:¹⁷³ a statement which is evidently intended to increase the antiquity (and thus also the authority) of Garga, rather than provide historical detail about him.

Somewhat more concrete are the indications from the present-day locations of the manuscripts of *Yuga-Purāṇa*. As was noted in section 5, the best textual readings are to be found in the manuscripts from Alwar (R), Poona (Bh), Bombay (the original provenance of D), and Aliyavada in Gujarat (C): while good readings are also contained in the manuscripts from Banaras (B, H, S) and Calcutta (L, N). The better readings thus clearly come from the western area of India: and if lines are drawn

172 *Mahābhārata* 9.36.14-17, 13.18.25-26; these passages are given in Appendix 1.

173 *Mahābhārata* 12.59.117.

connecting these present-day location of the manuscripts, these intersect in the western Vindhya, close to the city of Ujjain.

Ujjain itself is well-famed as a centre of *jyotiṣa*-studies. It was here, for example, that Varāhamihira was born (he relates that he was the son of Ādityadāsa of Ujjain)¹⁷⁴ and wrote many of his works: and as has already been seen, Varāhamihira is himself deeply indebted to the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, on which he modelled much of his own *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. In view of the various indications noted in this section, it may be deemed quite probable that Garga himself also belonged to—and was perhaps one of the founders of—the Ujjain school of astrologer-astronomers: and that it was in or around Ujjain that the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* was composed.

12. THE DATE OF COMPOSITION

We are now in a position to summarise the various indication already noted in preceding sections as to when the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was probably composed.

Firstly, we have seen that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is composed in a somewhat hybrid form of Sanskrit: a type of language which would seem to have been current mainly between the 1st century B.C. and the 5th century A.D. A second and complementary observation has been that the account was probably composed earlier than corresponding accounts of the Yugas in the Epics and Purāṇas. More specifically, it was probably composed earlier than the Yuga-accounts in the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the *Vana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Harivaṃśa*, and in the *Matsya* and other Purāṇas: as also at a period before the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition became widely current and popular. It was also almost certainly composed earlier than the references to Garga and the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in the *Śalya*, *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana Parvans* of the *Mahābhārata*. The precise dating of all these texts remains somewhat conjectural: yet the latest parts of the Epics can scarcely be dated later than around the 4th century A.D., and it would thus seem fairly safe to assume on this basis that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was probably composed not later than around 2nd century A.D.

In a more general manner, we have seen that the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as whole has been variously used and quoted by Minarāja (c. A.D. 300 or 325), Varāhamihira (c. A.D. 550), and in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, as well as being cited by several subsequent commentators: its date of composition must accordingly be placed earlier than these.

The references in the *Yuga-Purāṇa* to Agnimitra and to others of his dynasty (i.e. the Śuṅgas), as well as those to the Yavana and Śaka incursions, place the text later than the 2nd century B.C. The reference to a Śaka incursion, as opposed to Śaka settlement, suggests a date later than the Indo-Scythian incursions of c. 60 B.C., but earlier than the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian settlements of c. A.D. 25: while lack of mention of the Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas again suggest: a date earlier than the mid-1st century A.D.

The references to kings Satuvāra and Śata—as also the possible refc-

rence to Khāravela (see section 10.F)—suggest that the author had knowledge of the earliest Śātavāhana kings, who most probably ruled around 50 B.C.: but since the author mentions the regions ruled over by the Śātavāhanas without detailing the reigns of Śātavāhana kings, it seems unlikely that the account was composed much later than c. 25 B.C. The most probable date of composition would therefore seem to be around 25B.C.

One further point may be mentioned here. The author of our text is clearly linking his account of the Yugas to historical events. He believes that, shortly after the advent of the Śakas, the Kali Yuga had come to an end: and that, after an interval of harsh conditions, a new Kṛta Yuga was beginning to dawn—an event which he evidently believed was occurring at his own time of writing. Our author was most probably not alone in his belief: and we may likely infer that there was a popular belief current at that time (c. 25 B.C.) and in the region where our author was writing (namely Ujjain: see section 11) that, following the defeat of the Śakas around 60 B.C., the Kali Yuga had drawn to a close and a new Kṛta Yuga was commencing. This belief may consequently explain why the era of 58 B.C.—which was almost certainly founded by Azes¹⁷⁵—came to be termed the Kṛta Yuga when it was subsequently adopted by the inhabitants of Ujjain and Malwa: namely for the very reason that they believed that a new Kṛta Yuga had commenced from around the period of that era. The optimism which was most probably aroused by the defeat of the Śakas and the establishment of Śātavāhana rule—and which is reflected in the legends of the golden reign of Vikrama—may well go hand in hand with this belief that a new Kṛta Yuga was dawning: and the optimistic note in the latter part of the *Yuga-Purāṇa*, foretelling the well-being of men in regions particularly of present-day Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh at the start of this new Kṛta Yuga, may be taken as a further indication that the *Yuga-Purāṇa* was composed during a period which was witnessing renewed prosperity in those regions—a prosperity which was seen, and which is notably reflected in architectural and artistic developments, under the early Śātavāhanas.

It may thus finally be concluded the *Yuga-Purāṇa*—as indeed the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole—was most probably composed around 25 B.C.

13. THE VALUE OF THE YUGA-PURĀṆA

It can be seen from the discussions in preceding sections that the importance of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* extends into a number of fields. It is firstly of value as a source of early Indian history: it covers especially a period of Indian history which is still too little known, and its account of this period—although only partial—provides details which are lacking in all other literary sources but which are in several instances corroborated by archaeological and numismatic sources. It is secondly of value as a literary text, which contains ideas which foreshadow and are developed into themes in the Epics and Purāṇas: in this respect, it is of importance as a source of Epic and Purāṇic ideas relating to time and to the Yugas, and it is consequently also of value in helping to date certain parts of the Epics and Purāṇas. The language of the *Yuga-Purāṇa* is further of interest inasmuch as it exhibits certain features akin to a hybrid form of Sanskrit—which is indeed the case with the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* as a whole. The importance of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* in the history of the development of Indian astronomy and astrology can scarcely be overrated: it is almost certainly earliest major work on the subject, and subsequent writers—most notably Varāhamihira—acknowledge their debt to it. Just as the *Yuga-Purāṇa* chapter helps to throw light on the development of certain Epic and Purāṇic ideas, so too the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* represents a stage in the development of ideas which are subsequently enlarged upon not only in astronomical and astrological works but also in the Epics and Purāṇas: and an edition of this work is, as Pingree has pointed out,¹⁷⁶ an urgent necessity.

¹⁷⁵ See section 10.I note 160.

¹⁷⁶ Pingree, *The Yavana jātaka*, vol.2 p.447.

It can be seen from the above that the history of the New Testament is a complex and varied one, involving many different factors and influences. The study of this history is essential for a full understanding of the New Testament and its place in the Christian tradition. The following chapters will explore the various aspects of this history, from the early Christian community to the development of the New Testament canon.

TEXT AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

पुरा शक्तिधरः स्कंदः शंकरं परिपृच्छति ।

कथं कालो गतः पूर्वं कथं वापि भविष्यति ॥ १ ॥

किं आयुषः परीमाणं किं शरीरं च प्राणिनां ।

किं वीर्यं तपश्चैव भविष्यति युगक्षये ॥ २ ॥

किं प्रमाणं युगोत्सर्गे धर्माश्चापि युगे युगे ।

युगांते च भवेत्सद्यः समवस्था प्रजा विभो ॥ ३ ॥

1a-b शक्तिधनु A,H,L,N,P,S; शक्तिधनुः स्कंद C,D; शक्तिधनु स्तूदः Q;
शंकर P; स्वंकरं H,L,N,S; स्कंकरं D; परिपृच्छति Bh,C,D,Q,R;
परिपृच्छति S.

c-d कथ D; काले C; पू—Bh; पूर्व A,H,N,Q,R; पूर्व P; चापि
A,P,Q; वापि D.

2a-b किं आयुषः परीमाणं D; परीमाणां S; परिमाणं किं शरी च A,P,Q;
प्राणिना A; प्राणीनां C.

c-d किं तपश्चैव भविष्यति Bh,R; भविष्यति P; युगक्षयो A,P,Q.

3a-b किं A,P,Q; प्रमाणं D; प्रमाणो युगोत्सर्गे Bh,R; युगोत्सर्गो
A,C,D,H,N,Q; युगोत्सर्गो S; युगे भर्गो L; धर्माश्चापि L,N;
धर्माश्चापि H,P; धर्माश्चापि C; धर्माश्चापि Bh; omit second
युगे S.

c-d युगान्ते P; युगे य भावतां प्राप्ते किमवस्थाः C; °समावस्था Bh,R;
भवेत्सद्यसभवत्त्वं A; भवेत्सद्यसभवत्त्वं Q; भवत्सदं समवत्त्वं P;
भवे—समवत्त्वा H,L,N,S; भवे...मवस्था प्रभा° D; °विभे Bh,R.

एतच्छ्रुत्वा शुभां वाचं स्कंदस्याक्लिष्टकर्मणः ।

उवाच भगवान्देवः स्वयं शक्तिधरं प्रभुः ॥ ४ ॥

श्रुतः कालोऽप्यतिक्रांतो य वा पूर्वं प्रकीर्तितः ।

युगानां नामरूपाणि प्रमाणं स दधाति च ॥ ५ ॥

सुरक्ते युगम [...] आसीद्ब्रह्मण्यमुत्तमं ।

जातास्तत्र महाभागा नराः सूर्याग्निसन्निभाः ॥ ६ ॥

4a-b एतच्छ्रुत्वा H,N,S; एतश्रुत्वा C; एत्वां श्रुत्वा Bh,R; एतच्छ्रुत्वा शुभ D; शुभं Bh,C,H,L,N,R,S; वाच Bh,P,R; वाचं H,L,N,S; वाच्यं C,D; स्कंदस्या^० C; स्कन्दस्यास्तिष्टकर्मणः P; ^०तिष्टकर्मणः Q; ^०तिष्टकर्मणः A; ^०पिष्टिष्टकर्मणि Bh,R; ^०कर्मणः H,N,S.

c-d उवाच P; भगवान्देव C; भगवान्देवाः A,P,Q; शक्तियधुः A,P,Q; शक्तिधनुः D,H,L,N,S; शक्तिधरः प्रभोः C.

5a-b अतः A,P,Q; श्रुति C,D; कालमतिक्रांतो A,D,H,L,P (^०क्रान्तो), S; कालमतीक्रांतो Q; कालमतिक्रांतो C; कालमतिक्रांतो N; यथा C,D; य वा Bh,R; पूर्वं P; प्रकीर्तितं B,C,D,H,L,N; प्रकीर्तितं S. The account in B commences only from the second half of this line.

c-d युगानां Bh,P,R; नामरूपाणि A,P; नामरूपाणां Bh,R; प्रमाणं S; स दधाति H,L,S; स दधानि B,N; मंडलामनि भा C; मंडलाब्धि व D.

6a-b सुरक्तेन युगमः आसीद्ब्रह्म^० B,H,L,N,S; सुशुक्रमयुगं नाम आसीद्ब्रह्म^० C; सुशुक्रमयुगं नाम आसीद्ब्रह्म^० D; युगम Bh,R; आशीद्ब्रह्मण्यमुत्तमं A; आशीद्ब्रह्मण्यमुत्तमं Q; ^०ब्रह्मण्यमुत्तमं C; ^०ब्रह्मण्यमुत्तमं P; ^०ब्रह्मण्यमुत्तमं B,S.

c-d जातास्तत्र A,B,H,N,Q,S; आजातास्तत्र L; जातास्तदा C; सूर्या^०

न वृत्त्यर्थं भयं तेषां न च मृत्युर्न तस्कराः ।

द्रुमाः कामफलास्तेषां सस्यपूर्णा च मेदिनी ॥ ७ ॥

शतवर्षसहस्राणि आयुस्तेषां कृते युगे ।

न लोभस्तेषां न क्रोधश्च शरीरेषु शरीरिणां ॥ ८ ॥

न रोषो न च दंभोऽस्ति न पैशून्यं न क्षुद्रता ।

संयोगा मैथुनश्चैव न च दंडप्रधानता ॥ ९ ॥

P; सूर्याग्निसन्निभाः A; सूर्याग्निभाः Q; सूर्याग्निसन्निभाः Bh; सूर्याग्निसन्निभा R; सूर्याग्निसन्निभाः C.

7a-b वृत्त्यर्थं R; वृत्त्यर्थं A,H,L,N,P,Q,S; वृत्त्यर्थं Bh; नि वृत्त्यर्थं C; न नित्यर्थं D; मृत्युर्न Q; मृत्युः P; मृत्युः A; मत्फर्न S; नाम मृत्युर्नश्च तस्कराः C; transpose च to precede तस्कराः A,B,D, H,L,N,P,Q,S; तस्काराः Bh.

c-d द्रुमा A,D,P,Q; कामफलास्तेषां B; कामफरनास्तेषां H; सस्यपूर्णा Bh; सस्यप्रमेदिनी A,P,Q; मेदिनी S.

8a-b शतवर्ष^० A,P; आयुस्तेषां Bh,R; आयुस्तेषां कृते B; युगे C; युगे D; युगोः N; युगाः A,B,H,L,P,Q,S.

c-d म in place of first न B,H,L,N (with marginal correction), S; omit first न C,D; लोभस्तेषां H; लोभस्तेषां A,P,Q; लोभस्तेषां C; लोभस्तेषां न लोभश्च D; लोभस्तेषु न क्रोधः शरीरेषु Bh,R; शरीरिणां Q.

9a-b व in place of च B,H,S; चं दंभो R; चं दम्भो P; ऽस्ती न पिशून्यं C; पैशून्यं H,S; च क्षुद्रता Q; न च क्षुद्रता A,P; न च क्षुद्रा Bh,R; क्षुद्रताः B.

c-d संयोगो C,D; संयोगा नैपुनाश्चैव Bh,R; नैपुनाश्चैव A,P,Q; न च R; न व B,H,S; व च दंड^० C; दंडः प्रधानता A,P (दण्डः^०), Q; दंडः प्रधानता Bh,R.

तस्मिन्कृतयुगे जाता देवगंधर्वकिन्नराः ।

दानवाः सपुरोयक्षा राक्षसाः समहोरगाः ॥ १० ॥

उदयंत्यथ ते सूर्ये ज्वलन्ते तेऽपि सूर्यवत् ।

तपोवीर्या नराः सर्वे तदा कृतयुगे युगे ॥ ११ ॥

ततः कृतयुगस्यान्ते कृतांतः समुपस्थितः ।

घोरं चात्र महायुद्धं प्रवृत्तं तारकामयं ॥ १२ ॥

तस्मिन्वृत्ते महायुद्धे देवगंधर्वकिन्नरैः ।

सदेवऋषिभिः सिद्धैः राक्षसैः समहोरगैः ॥ १३ ॥

10a-b तस्मि^० D; जातो A,B,H,L,N,Q,S; ^०गंधर्व^० P; ^०किन्नरा Bh,R; ^०किन्नराः C,D.

c-d दानवा D,R; सपुरो^० D; सपुरो^० L; ^०यक्षाः Bh,D,R,S; ^०यक्षा corrected to ^०यक्षा C; ^०यक्षा A,B,H; राक्षसाः B,H; राक्षसोः P; राक्षसो A; समहोरगाः P; समहोरगाः C.

11a-b उदयंत्यथा त C; उदयन्ति अथ A; उदयंत्यथ ते सूर्यवत् and omit rest of line Bh,R; उदयत्यथः च सूर्ये ज्वलन्ते ऽपि सूर्यवत् P; omit second ते A,B,C,H,Q; ज्वलेते Q.

c-d तपोवीर्या P; तपोवीर्य निराः H,L,S; नरा धर्मे Q; सर्वे P; स्वर्वे C; तदा A.

12a-b कृतमृग^० A,P; ^०स्यान्ते कृतान्तः L,P; समुपस्थितः B,H,N,S; समुपस्थितः L.

c-d घोरं चात्र A,P,Q; घोरं वा च महायुद्ध C,D; प्रवृत्तं A; प्रवृत्तं H,L,N,P,S; प्रवृत्तं Q; प्रवृत्तं B; तारकामयं S.

13a-b तस्मिन्वृत्ते P; तस्मिन्वृत्ते B; तस्मिन्वृत्ते R; तस्मिन्वृत्ते Bh; देवगंधर्व-सूदने C,D; देवगंधर्वस्तथा नमः A,B,H,L,N,P (^०गन्धर्व^०), Q,S.

c-d ^०ऋषिभिः A,P,Q; कारणे ऋषिभिः C; कारणे ऋषिभिः सिद्धैः D;

तस्मिन्युद्धे व्यतिक्रान्ते ये शेषास्तत्र प्राणिनः ।

तेषां तु रक्षणाार्थाय क्षत्रं सृष्टं स्वयंभुवा ॥ १४ ॥

ततः]स्त्रैणा गुणा नार्यस्तयो [र्वा] प्रोच्यते युगं ।

निरता यत्र चत्वारो वर्णाः सर्वे स्वकर्मणि ॥ १५ ॥

चतुर्वर्णे स्थितो धर्मो ऽप्यग्निहोत्रं प्रवर्त्तितं ।

14a-b ^०न्युद्धे Bh,R; व्यतिक्रान्ति Bh; ^०क्रान्ते L,P; योषास्तत्र प्राणिना D; प्राणितः Bh,R; प्राणिनः A,Q.

c-d तेषां Bh,R; द in place of तु L; तेषान्तु रक्षणाक्षत्रं क्षत्रं P; रक्षणाक्षत्रं क्षत्रं A,L,N,Q; रक्षणाक्षत्रं क्षत्रं H; रक्षणाक्षत्रं क्षत्रं C; रक्षणाक्षत्रं क्षत्रं B; तेषां न रक्षणाक्षत्रं सृष्टं D; रक्षणाक्षत्रं सृष्टं S सृष्टं A,Q; स्वयंभुव Q.

15a-b स्त्रैणा H,N,S; स्त्रैणा Bh,R; स्त्रैणा P; स्त्रै गुणा नार्योस्तयो Q; नार्योस्तयो P; नार्य - - यो प्रोच्यते B,H,L,N,S; नार्य - - प्रोच्यते R; नार्यस्त - - प्रोच्यते Bh; ^०स्तयो प्राप्तोच्यते A,P,Q; युग A,P; ततोऽस्त्रेतायुगे नाभानीया धाभ्यातंगं युगं C; ततोऽस्त्रेतायुगे नाभातीर्थाया प्राच्यांत युगं D. This line is clearly corrupt in all mss. : all omit the visarga in ततः, and syllables are indicated as missing in B,Bh,H,L,N,R, and S. Matching the extant form in these mss. against the versions in C-D and A-P-Q, the missing syllable (required metrically) must occur between तयो and प्रोच्यते : hence the suggested reading वा, in place of धा in C, या in D, and प्रा in A-P-Q.

c-d सर्व A,Q; सर्व P; सकर्मणि Bh,R.

16a-b चतुर्वर्ण A; चतुर्वर्णे Q; चतुर्वर्णो Bh,H,L,R; चतुर्वर्णो S; चतुर्वर्णो N; चतुर्वर्णा B; चतुर्वर्णो D; चतुर्वर्णे स्थितो धर्मो चातुर्होत्रं C; स्थितो Bh,Q; स्थितो H; स्थितो B,N,S; स्थितो

ततः शास्त्राणि मंत्राश्च जपाश्च बहवस्तथा ॥ १६ ॥

अरण्यायतना विप्राः सर्वे वेदपरायणाः ।

द्वितीये तु युगे प्राप्ते अजित्मा अशठा नराः ॥ १७ ॥

प्रजापालनदक्षाश्च क्षत्रिया युद्धशातनाः ।

विप्राणां च विशेषज्ञा रक्षितारः समाहिताः ॥ १८ ॥

पशुपाल्यं कृषिश्चैव ब्राह्मणानां च पोषणं ।

स्वकर्मसु रता वैश्याः शूद्राः शुश्रूषणे रताः ॥ १९ ॥

L; धत्तेहोत्रं A,P,Q; धात्रहोत्रं B; धात्तहोत्र H,L,N,S; धात्तहौत्रं प्रवर्त्तिनं D; प्रवर्त्तितं P; प्रवर्त्तत Bh,R.

c-d शस्त्राणि मन्त्राश्च P; जाताश्च Bh,R; जाम्ब A,P,Q; तथ P.

17a-b आरण्या⁰ C,R; अरण्यायत एषां विप्राः A,P,Q; सर्वे P.

c-d तु N; तु गे Bh,R; प्राप्त B; अजिता H; अजिता A,P,Q; अजित्मा Bh,R; अशगन्नराः A,Q; अशगन्नरा P; अशगनराः B,N,S; अभवन्नराः Bh,R.

18a-b प्रजापालनदक्षश्च Q; युद्धशातनः B,Bh,R. A and P both interpolate one version of *śloka* 56-79 at this point, thereafter returning to *śloka* 18 : see sections 3 and 7 of the Introduction.

c-d विप्राणां C; विप्राणाञ्च L; विशेषज्ञाः Bh,R; विशेषज्ञ P; समाहितः Bh,R.

19a-b पशुपालनं C; ब्राह्मणां Bh,R; पोषणं C; पोषणा A,P,Q; पोषणां B,S.

c-d स्वकर्मसु A,Q; स्वकर्मसु P; — कर्मसु B,L; — कर्मसु H,N,S; रताः C; वैश्या A,B,D,H,L,N,P,Q,S; शूद्रा A,C,P,Q; शूद्राः R; शुश्रूषणे C; शुश्रूषणो S.

एवं धर्मरते लोके सत्यव्रतसमाहिते ।

ततः क्रोधश्च लोभश्च पतितः पृथिवीतले ॥ २० ॥

दशभागे स्थितं त्वायुर्मूलपुष्पफलानि च ।

दशवर्षसहस्राणि आयुस्त्रेतायुगे कृतं ॥ २१ ॥

ततस्त्रेतायुगस्यांते कृतांते समुपस्थिते ।

त्रिसप्तकृत्वो रामेण कृता निःक्षत्रिया मही ॥ २२ ॥

तत उत्सादिते क्षत्रे युगे ऽन्यस्मिन्नुपस्थिते ।

20a-b धर्मरते P; धर्मरतो B,Bh,R,S; सत्यव्रत⁰ A.

c-d लोमश्च N; पृथिवीतले C,R; पृथिवीतले Bh; पृथिवीतलौ A,J,P,Q; पृथिवीतले B. The account in J commences only from this line, with ⁰धश्च लोभश्च.

21a-b दशभागे A,J,Q; देशभागे P; दत्राभागे L; दशभागं स्थिते C; स्थितं B,H,N,S; त्वायुर्मूल⁰ A; त्वायुर्मूल⁰ L; त्वायुर्मूल⁰ D; ⁰मूलपुलपुष्प⁰ Bh; ⁰फलाति Bh,R; चं H,J; चा A.

c-d दशवर्ष⁰ P; आपस्त्रेतायुगो J; आयुस्ते वा युगे कृते Bh,R; स्मृतं P; स्मृतां C.

22a-b ततःस्त्रेता⁰ C; युगस्यान्ते L,P; कृतांते A; कृतान्ते P; समुपस्थितो R; समुपस्थिते B,H,N,S.

c-d त्रिसप्तकृत्वो C; त्रिसप्तकृत्वा A,J,P,Q; हता J; निक्षत्रिया Bh,R; निक्षत्रिया A,P,Q; निक्षत्रिया C; मह Bh,R. D commences the line with प्रपद्यत (see 23c), but then reverts to the correct account.

23a-b तत दुस्स्यादिते J; ततमुत्थादिते D; उत्थादिते Q; उद्धादिते B,C,H,L,N,S; क्षत्रे D; क्षत्रे B,H,L,N,S; युगे J; युगे ऽस्मिन्नु⁰ D;

प्रपद्यत ततो घोरं तृतीयं द्वापरं युगं ॥ २३ ॥

इहाप्यायुः स्थितवत्सदशभागेन प्राणिनां ।

नरा वर्षसहस्रेण देहं त्यज्जन्ति दुःखिताः ॥ २४ ॥

न तेषां वधबंधो ऽस्ति बलात्कारेण दारुणः ।

अकृच्छ्रधर्मा पृथिवी तृतीये तु युगे नराः ॥ २५ ॥

प्रजापालनदत्ताश्च रक्षितारो नरेश्वराः ।

ऽन्यास्मिन्^० A,J; ऽन्यस्मिन्^० Q; ऽन्यस्मिन्^० P; ऽन्यस्मिन्^० Bh; ^०नृपस्थिते B,H,N,S.

c-d प्रपद्येत C; प्रपद्यतो B,N; तो in place of ततो B,H,N,S; घोर तृतीये C; कापरं J; पुनः in place of युगं A,B,D,H,J,L,N, P,Q,S.

24a-b इहाप्यायुः Bh; इहाप्यायु B,C,D,H,L,N,S; इहाप्यायु A,J,P,Q; स्थित^० B,H,N,S; स्थितवत्^० C; स्थितवः^० L; ^०दशोभागेन D; प्राणिनां J,Q; प्राणिनां C.

c-d नर C; वर्षसहस्रेण A,Q; वर्षसहस्रेण J; देह D; दह C; त्यज्जन्ति B,H; त्यज्ति Bh,R; दुःखिता A,C,P,R; दुःखिता J,Q.

25a-b भिन C; तेषां Bh,R; वधबंधो S; वधबंधो J,Q; वद्धं बंधो A; वद्धं वंको P; ऽस्ती C; बलात्कारेण दारुणा P; दारुणाः A,Bh, R,S; दारुणाः J.

c-d अकृच्छ्रधर्मा Bh; अकृच्छ्रधर्मा B,C,H,N,R,S; अकृच्छ्रधर्मा D; अकृच्छ्रधर्म J; ^०धर्म A,Q; ^०धर्म P; तृतीये D; omit तु A,J,P,Q; तु C,D; नराः Bh; तु नरा युगे L.

26a-b ^०पाजन^० S; ^०दत्ताश्च J; रक्षितारे नरेश्वराः D; दिक्षितारो नरेश्वरः C; नरेश्वरा P.

सत्यं धर्मश्च यज्ञश्च द्वापरे प्रथिते युगे ॥ २६ ॥

एकपादावशेषेण धर्मेण पृथिवीतले ।

न चक्राम परः कश्चित् स्वधर्मं परिपृच्छति ॥ २७ ॥

तस्यापि च युगस्यान्ते मेदिनी क्षयमेष्यति ।

नरास्पृज्जन्ति स्वान्देहान् कालस्य वशमागताः ॥ २८ ॥

हयानां च गजानां च पार्थिवानां नृणां तथा ।

c-d सत्य P; सत्या C; धर्मश्च P; धर्मश्च L; धर्माश्च R; यज्ञश्च B,C, D,H,L,N,S; द्वापरे J; द्वापरे A,Q; द्वापरे P; प्रथिते C; पृथिते D.

27a-b ^०विशेषेण C; ^०वशेषेण A,J,P,Q; ^०वशेषेण H; धर्मेण P; पृथिवीतले C,R; पृथिवीतले Bh.

c-d चक्राम B,D,H,L,N,S; सकाम A,Bh,J,P,Q,R; पर A,J,Q; परं P; स्वधर्म C; सधर्म A,H,J,L,N,Q,S; सधर्म P; सर्वधर्म च D; परिपृच्छति B,C,D,H,J,N,S; परिपृच्छति Bh.

28a-b तस्यापि R; तस्मापि J; युगस्यान्ते P; युगस्यान्ते मेदिनी C; मेदिनी R; क्षयमेष्यते A,J.

c-d नरास्पृज्जन्ति C; नरास्पृज्जन्ति L; नराः स्पृज्जन्ति H; नराः स्पृज्जन्ति B,N,S; नराः स्पृज्जन्ति D; तराः स्पृज्जन्ति A,Q; तराः स्पृज्जन्ति P; तराः स्पृज्जन्ति J; Bh ends a folio with नरास्पृज्जन्ति, and the following folios containing the rest of the Yuga-Purāṇa are missing from the manuscript; स्वादेहात् H,L,N; स्वादेहात् D; स्वादेहात् C; स्वादेहान् कारस्य A,J,P,Q; स्वादेहाकालस्य B,S; चशम^० A,J; चशम^० P; ^०गतः A,J,P,Q,R.

29a-b repeat गजानां च J; पार्थिवानां A,Q.

वधार्थं द्वापरस्यान्ते समुत्पत्स्यति केशवः ॥ २६ ॥

चतुर्बाहुर्महावीर्यः शंखचक्रगदाधरः ।

वासुदेव इति ख्यातः पीतांबरधरो बली ॥ ३० ॥

ततः कैलाससंकाशो वनमाली हलायुधः ।

पांडवानां वरो राजा भविष्यति युधिष्ठिरः ।

वधार्थं द्वापरस्यान्ते चतुर्भिर् भ्रातृभिः सह ॥ ३१ ॥

c-d द्वापरस्यार्थे C; °ान्ते L,P; समत्पत्स्यति N,S; समुत्पत्स्यति D; समुत्पत्स्यति B,C; समत्पत्स्यति L; समास्यत्यति A,J,Q; समास्यत्यति P; संभविष्यति R.

30a-b चतुर्बाहुं N; चतुर्बाहुर्महावीर्यं A,J,P [°वीर्यं], Q; °वीर्यं D; °वीर्या C; °धर A,J,Q.

c-d वासुदेवं A,J,P,Q.

31a-b वलः in place of ततः R; कैलाश° A,C,D,J,P,Q; °संकाशौ C; °संकाशं R; °संकाशो A,J,P,Q; समाली J; हलायुध R; धरायुधः C.

c-d पंडवानां A; पांडवाना B; पंडवानां S; चरो B,C,H,J,L,N,P,S; करो जा R; भविष्य J; युधिष्ठिराः H.

e-f वधार्थं A,J; वधार्थं द्वापरस्यान्ते P; द्वापरस्यान्ते A,J,Q; धारय-रस्यान्ते R; omit चतुर्भिर् A,B,H,J,L,N,P,Q,S; कुरुणां in place of चतुर्भिर् R; भ्रातृभिः B; भ्रातृभिः - - सह C; सहा J,Q; D has शनृभिः सह पांडव in place of the second half of the line; Q repeats पीतांबरधरो बली ततः [30d-31a] between भ्रातृभिः and सहा, but this has subsequently been enclosed in brackets.

वायव्यो भीमसेनश्च फाल्गुनश्च महातपाः ।

नकुलः सहदेवश्च भ्रातरावश्विनात्मजौ ॥ ३२ ॥

भीष्मद्रोणादयश्चैव धृष्टद्युम्नश्च पार्थिवः ।

अंगराजस्तथा कर्णः साश्वत्थामा च दुर्जयः ॥ ३३ ॥

देवकः शतधन्वा च दारुकश्च महायशः ।

रत्नार्थं नरलोकस्य उत्पत्स्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ३४ ॥

शकुनिर्दंतवक्त्रश्च शिशुपालश्च गर्वितः ।

32a-b शमसेनश्च R; फाल्गुनश्च B.

c-d नकुल C,Q; तकुलः J; भ्रातरावश्विन° A; भ्रातर्विश्विन° C; °श्विने-यजौ R.

33a-b भाषाद्रोण° J; भीष्माद्रोणादयश्चैव धृष्टद्युत्सश्च C; धृष्टद्युश्च S; धृष्टद्युम्न D.

c-d अंगराज° A; °राजस्तथा A,P; कर्ण A,B,D,H,J,P,Q; सोश्व-त्थामा R; साश्वत्थामा B,N,S; साश्वच्छामा H,L; साश्वत्थामाद च C; सारथामा D; सौश्वत्थामा A,J,P; सौश्वत्थामा Q; दुर्जयः R; दुर्जयाः B,H,L,N,S; दुर्जयः J,Q.

34a-b देवक C; देवकु D; देनकः H; शतधन्वा R.

c-d रत्नार्थं J,P,Q,S; रत्नार्थं A; रत्नार्थं N; रत्नार्थं C; रत्नार्थं नरलोकश्च D; नरलोकेस्य उत्पत्स्यन्ति J,Q; उत्पत्स्यन्ति P; उत्पत्स्यन्ति H; तुल्यजन्ति L; उत्पत्स्यन्ति B,D; उत्पत्स्यति R; उत्पत्स्यन्ति युगे-क्षये C; युगक्षयो R.

35a-b °दंतवक्त्रश्च R; °दंतवक्त्रश्च C; °दंतवक्त्रश्च A,J,P,Q; शिशुपालश्च J,P; omit °पालश्च S; गर्वित A,P,Q; गर्वित J.

शल्यो रुक्मिर्जरासंधः कृतवर्मा जयद्रथः ॥ ३५ ॥

एतेषामपि वीराणां राज्ञां हेतुर्भविष्यति ।

द्रुपदस्य सुता कृष्णा देहांतरगता मही ॥ ३६ ॥

ततो नरक्षये वृत्ते प्रशांते नृपमंडले ।

भविष्यति कलिर्नाम चतुर्थं पश्चिमं युगं ॥ ३७ ॥

ततः कलियुगस्यादौ पारीक्षिजनमेजयः ।

पृथिव्यां प्रथितः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्यति न संशयः ॥ ३८ ॥

c-d शक्यो L; शाल्यो J,C; शल्ये रुक्मी जरा° R; रुक्मिर्जरा° C,P,Q;
तुकिर्जरा° A,J; कृतवर्मा R; जयद्रथ A,P,Q,R.

36a-b एतेषांमपि A,J,P; एतेषां अपि R; वीराणां C,D; वीरणां A,B,J;
विराणां Q; ज्ञा in place of राज्ञां A; ज्ञो i.p.o. राज्ञां J,Q;
ज्ञा i.p.o. राज्ञां P; राज्ञा R; हतुर्भ° N.

c-d द्रुपदस्य B,J,N; द्रिपदस्य D; देहान्तर° P.
37a-b तरक्षये R; वृत्ते B; प्रशांते R; शशांते L; ष्वशांते B,H,N,S;
श्वशांते A,J,Q; शांते च C,D; श्वशान्ते नृपमण्डले P; नृपमंडले J.

c-d कलिर्नाम J,P; °नामश्चतुर्थं D; चतुर्थं A,J,L,P,Q,R; चतुर्थं
N; पश्चिम C; पश्चियुगां and omit युगं A,J,Q; पाश्चिमां and
omit युगं P.

38a-b °युगस्यातो A,J,P,Q; °युगस्यांते B,D,H,L,N,S; °युगे शांते C;
पारिक्षिज° R; परीक्षिज° A,B,H,J,L,N,P,Q; परीक्षिज° D;
परीक्षिजनमेजयं C.

c-d पृथिव्या A,J,P,Q; repeat पृथिव्यां R; पृथितः C,D,R;
श्रीमानुत्प° D; श्रीमानुत्प° C; श्रीमाव्युत्प° R; °त्पत्स्यति B,R;
°त्पत्स्याति न संशयेः A,Q; संशये P; संशयः J.

सोऽपि राजा द्विजैः सार्द्धं विरोधमुपधास्यति ।

दारविप्रकृतामर्षः कालस्य वशमागतः ॥ ३९ ॥

ततः कलियुगे राजा शिशुनागात्मजो बली ।

उदायी नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गुणैः ॥ ४० ॥

गंगातीरे स राजर्षिर्देक्षिणे स महावरे ।

स्थापयन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पारामजनाकुलं ॥ ४१ ॥

तच्च पुष्पपुरं रम्यं नगरं पाटलीसुतं ।

39a-b द्विजैः A,J,P,Q; सार्द्धं R; °मुपधास्यति C,D.

c-d °विप्रकृता° N; °विप्रकृता° D; °मर्ष A,C,P,Q; वसमागतः Q;
वशमागतः A,P.

40a-b °शिशुर्नागा° R; शिशुत्मागा° P; शिशुनागात्मजो D; °त्पजो A,P;
बली R; बलि C.

c-d उदधी A,B,H,L,P,S; उदधी N; उदधीर्नाम J,K,Q,R; नीम
A,P; प्रथिव्यां B,H,N,S; पृथिव्या C; पृथितो C,D; गुणैः
A,C,P,Q.

41a-b मंगातीरे C; गङ्गा° K; राजर्षिर्दे° A,D,P,Q,R; राजर्षिर्दे° B;
°दक्षिणे C,H,R; थ महावरे R; महानदेदे C; मानानाचरो A,K,
P,Q; मानचरो J.

c-d स्थापयेन्नगरं K; स्थापयन्न° B,H,L,N; स्थापयेन्न° A,J,P,Q;
°न्नगरे B,H,J,L,N,S; °न्नगरे A,P,Q; रम्यं H; रम्ये B;
रम्यं C; पुष्पारामज° C; पुष्पारामजनसंकुलं B; °जमाकुलं D;
°जनाकुलं S.

42a-b तेषां C; तेऽथ A,B,D,H,J,K,L,N,P,Q,S; पुष्पपुरं H,N; रम्य
A,J,P,Q,R; रम्यं C; नगर D; पुष्पपुरे रम्ये नगरे पाटलीसुते K;
पावकीयुतं R.

पंचवर्षसहस्राणि स्थास्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ ४२ ॥

वर्षाणां च शताः पंच पंच संवत्सरास्तथा ।

मासाः पंच अहोरात्रमुहूर्ताः पंच एव च ॥ ४३ ॥

तस्मिन्पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनराजाशताकुले ।

ऋतक्षजः कर्मसुतः शालिशूको भविष्यति ॥ ४४ ॥

स राजा कर्मणः सुतो हृष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ।

c-d पञ्च^० K,P; °शहस्राणि J; पंचसहस्राणि शाम्यते L; स्थास्यते B,H, N,S; स्थास्यन्ते K; स्थासन्ते A,J,Q; स्थामन्ते P; स्थाप्यते त्वं न संशयः C; नाना संशयः J; संशयः A.

43a-b वर्षाणां वं H; वर्षाणाञ्च P; व B,S; विंशताः L; शता C,R; शतः A,J,P; शत K; सतः Q; पञ्च K,P; omit second पंच C,P; संवत्सरास्तथा C.

c-d मास A,B,H,J,K,L,N,P,Q,S; पञ्चमहो^० K; पञ्च both times P; अहोरात्रामु^० B,C,D,H,L,N; अहोरात्रमु^० A,J,K,Q; अहोरात्रमुहूर्त्ता P; °मुहूर्त्ताः A,C,D,H,N; °मुहूर्त्ता L,S; °मुहूर्त्तान् K; °पुहुताः J; अहाराः मूहूर्ता पंच R; चः P; चा Q.

44a-b तस्मिन्पु^० J; °न्पुष्पपुर H; रम्य जनराजा^० A,J,K,P,Q; °शता-कुलो R.

c-d C omits this line. ऋतुक्षा — K; ऋतक्षा A,J; ऋतक्षा B; ऋतक्षा H,N; ऋतक्षा D,Q; ऋतक्षा S; शतक्षा L; धातक्षा कर्म-सुतः P; कर्मसुतः D,L; कर्मसुतः B,H,N; कर्मः सुतः S; शालिःशूको A,P,Q; शालिःशूको J; भविष्यति A,P.

45a-b C omits this line. कर्मसुतो B,D,H,L,N,S; कर्मसुता — K; कर्मसुतो A,J,Q; कर्मसुतो P; हृष्टात्मा Q; दुष्टात्मा K; °विग्रहः H,N.

स्वराष्ट्रमर्दनो घोरे धर्मवादी अधार्मिकः ॥ ४५ ॥

स ज्येष्ठं आतरं साधुकेतेति प्रथितं गुणैः ।

स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकं ॥ ४६ ॥

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पंचाला माथुरास्तथा ।

यवना युद्धविक्रांताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजं ॥ ४७ ॥

c-d स्वाराष्ट्र^० A,J,P,Q; °मर्दते A,J,K,P,Q; °मर्दने D,H,L,S; °मर्दन N; °मर्दत चैव धर्मवादी B; थोरे A,J,P; घोरो D,H,S; घोरं K; धर्म^० P; धर्मवेदांश्चधार्मिकः R; अधार्मिकः A,B,P; अधार्मिक J; C continues directly after 44b with तत्त्वापरः क्रुरबन्धो रक्षकर्मा अधार्मिकः .

46a-b सृ C; ज्येष्ठ A,B,D,J,K,P,Q; शतरं साधुः केते D; साधुकेतिति A,B,J; साधुकेतिति K; साधुकेतिनि Q; साधुकेति P; साधुसाकेतं R.

c-d स्थाप^० A,J,P; स्थाप^० B,H,N,S; स्थाप^० L; विजये L; धार्मिका D,R; धर्मिकं A; धर्मिकं P.

47a-b repeat ततः R; omit ततः J; साकेतमाक्रम्य L; °क्रमा S; पञ्चाला P; पञ्चाल L; पञ्चालान् मथुरां तथा K; माथुरा तथा C,D,H,J,L, N,Q,S; मथुरा तथा A,B,P; तथे C; omit तथा Q.

c-d एवना A,B,H,J,L,N,P,Q,S; यवना R; यवनाश्च सुविक्रांताः C; युष्टवि^० A,J,P,Q; दुष्टवि^० K; °विक्रान्ताः K,L,P; युधि-विद्रांताः R; प्राप्स्यन्ति K; प्राप्स्यन्ति A,J,Q; प्राप्स्यन्ति B,S; प्राप्स्यन्ति P; प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजं R; कुशुम^० A,J,Q; °ध्वज A,J; °ध्वजा P,Q; °ध्वजं L.

ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते ।

आकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ४८ ॥

शस्त्रद्रममहायुद्धं तद्भविष्यति पश्चिमं ।

अनार्याश्चाप्यधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः ॥ ४९ ॥

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैव युगक्षये ।

समवेष्टाः समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ५० ॥

पाषंडेश्च समायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगक्षये ।

स्त्रोनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ५१ ॥

48a-b तत R; कर्दमे C,R; कर्दम P; पृथिते D; हिते J; हते P.

c-d आकुलाः P; अकुला K; विषया D; सर्वे P; भवेष्ट्यन्ति R; भविष्यन्ति K,P.

49a-b सख^० H; शस्त्रद्रुम^० A,J,P,Q; शस्त्राद्भुतमहयुद्धं D; तद्भविष्यति J,Q,S; पश्चिमं B; पश्चिमां D; पंचमं C.

c-d अनार्याश्चाप्य^० P; अनार्याश्चाप्य^० J; अनार्याश्चाप्य^० C; अनार्याश्चाप्यधर्माश्च R; अनार्याश्चाप्यधर्माश्च D; ^०धर्माश्च L,P; भविष्यति P; नराधमा C.

50a-b ब्राह्मणा A,D,J,P,Q; वैश्या A,J,Q,R; वैश्य P; शूद्राश्चैव A,P.

c-d omit समवेष्टाः R; समवेष्टाः C; समवेष्टा A; समवेष्टा J,Q; समवेष्टा P; समाचारा R; भविष्यति P,R; संशयः A,J,Q;

51a-b C omits this line. पाषण्डैश्च P; पाषण्डैश्च H,N; पाषण्डैश्चैव L; पाषण्डैश्च S; पाषण्डैश्च R; नरास्तस्मि^० B.

c-d C omits this line. ^०निमित्तं A,J,P,Q; ^०निमित्तं B; करिष्यति and omit न संशयः P.

चीरवल्कलसंवीता जटावल्कलधारिणः ।

मिच्छुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ५२ ॥

त्रेताग्निं वृषला लोके होष्यन्ति लघुविक्रियाः ।

ओंकारप्रथितैर्मन्त्रैर्युगांते समुपस्थिते ॥ ५३ ॥

अग्निकार्ये च जप्ये च अग्निके च दृढव्रताः ।

शूद्राः कलियुगस्यांते भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥ ५४ ॥

भोवादिनस्तथा शूद्रा ब्राह्मणाश्चार्थावादिनः ।

52a-b चीरवल्कल^० C; चीरावल्कल^० K; चीरीवल्कल^० P; चीरीवल्कलसं^० A,J,Q; ^०संवीताः J; ^०संवाताः A,P,Q; जटावल्कलधारिणः A,Q; ^०धारिणः J.

c-d वृषका A,J,P,Q; वृषला B; भविष्यति D,P; भविष्यन्ति K; म in place of न N.

53a-b त्रेताग्नि A,B,C,D,H,J,L,N,P,Q,S; वृषलोके D; होष्यन्ति P; होष्यन्ति B; ^०विक्रिया C.

c-d तुंकार^० D; तुंवार^० N; तुंवार^० H; तुकर^० L; ^०पृथितैर्मन्त्रै^० D; ^०प्रथितैर्मन्त्रैर्युगांते A,J,Q; ^०प्रथितैर्मन्त्रैर्युगान्ते P; ^०युगांते S; ^०युगान्ते L; समुपस्थितं A,J,P,Q; समुपस्थिते B,H,N,S.

54a-b अग्निकार्ये N; अग्निकार्ये A,J,P,Q; जपो A; जपो P; दृढव्रताः D; दृढव्रताः A,P.

c-d शूद्रा A,P,Q; शूद्रा J; कलियुग^० Q; ^०युगस्यांते P; ^०युगस्यांते R; भविष्यति P; संशयः A,J.

55a-b A,J,P,Q and R omit this line. भोवादिन^० C; दंभोवादि-
स्तथा D; ब्राह्मणाश्चार्थ^० C; ब्राह्मणाश्चार्थ^० B,H,L,S; ब्राह्मणाश्चार्थ^० D. After this line, B,D,H,L,N and S repeat 50c-d, with variants समावेशः H,L,N,S; समावेशः B; समादेशः D.

धर्ममीततमा वृद्धा जनं भोक्षन्ति निर्भयाः ॥ ५५ ॥

यवना ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति नगरे यं च पार्थिवाः ।

मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदाः ॥ ५६ ॥

तेषामन्योन्यसंभावा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं युद्धं परमदारुणं ॥ ५७ ॥

c-d धर्ममीत⁰ A,B,J,Q; धर्ममीत⁰ P; वृद्धा R; भोक्षन्ति D; भोक्षन्ति B; भोक्षन्ति P; भोक्ष्येति C; भोक्ष्यन्ति निर्भयः R; निर्भयाः J.

56a-b यचना R; यव D; पंचानां ज्ञापयिष्यति A,J,Q; पञ्चालां ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति P; नगरेः C; नरारे B,H,N,S; नराहे L; नशरे A,J,P,Q; पं in place of यं C,D,J,L,Q.

c-d A and P both contain two nearly identical accounts of *śloka* 56-79, one of which is interpolated at *śloka* 18 : see sections 3 and 7 of the Introduction. The variants listed for these *śloka*s in each manuscript are accordingly referred to as either A¹/P¹ (interpolated account) or A²/P².

मध्यदेश B,H,L,N,S; मध्ये देशे A^{1,2},J,P^{1,2},Q; व in place of न R; स्थास्यन्ति K,P^{1,2}; स्थास्यन्ति D; स्थास्यन्ति B,H,N,S; स्थास्यन्ति L; यवाना C; पञ्चना P¹; पञ्चला P²; युद्ध⁰ J; युद्धा⁰ C; दुर्मदा A^{1,2},J,Q; दुर्मदा P^{1,2}.

57a-b तेषामन्यो⁰ P²; अन्योन्यं संवाधा R; संभाव B,S; संभावाद् C,D; भविष्यन्ति K; भविष्यति A¹,P^{1,2}; संशय R.

c-d ोत्थित R; ोत्थितं P²; ोत्थितं D,H,N; ोत्थितं B,S; मोघोरं A¹,P²; युद्धं J; पहम⁰ A²,P^{1,2}; पश्म⁰ J; दारुणां A^{1,2},J,P²,Q.

ततो युगवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिचये ।

साकेते सप्त राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ॥ ५८ ॥

लोहिताद्रैस्तथा योधैर्योधा युद्धपरिचिताः ।

करिष्यन्ति पृथिवीं शून्यां रक्तघोरां सुदारुणां ॥ ५९ ॥

ततस्ते मगधाः कृत्वा गंगासीना सुदारुणाः ।

रक्तपातं तथा युद्धं भविष्यति तु पश्चिमं ॥ ६० ॥

58a-b Q omits this line. omit युग⁰ L; युद्ध⁰ D; वशात्तेषां B; वषाद् तेषां C; यवनानां D; परिचयं A^{1,2},J,P^{1,2}.

c-d Q omits this line. साकेते H; साकेतो C; साकेते A^{1,2},B,J,K,L,N,P¹,S; साकेते D; सांकेते P²; भविष्यन्ति K,P¹; भविष्यति C,P²; महाबला P²; महाबलाः D; माहाबलाः R; न संशयः in place of महाबलाः L.

59a-b Q omits this line. लोहिताद्रैस्तथा A^{1,2},J; लोहिताद्रैस्तथा P^{1,2}; लोहिताद्रौ तथा R; omit योधै⁰ A^{1,2},J,P^{1,2}; योध P²; योधा J; योवैयोधा L,R; परीक्षिताः D; परिचिताः A^{1,2},P^{1,2}.

c-d Q omits this line. करिष्यन्ति P^{1,2}; करिष्यति D; पृथिवी A^{1,2},J,P^{1,2}; पृथिवी C; शून्या A^{1,2},B,C,J,P^{1,2}; रक्तघोरी B; रक्तघोरां J; रक्तघोरां A^{1,2},P²; रक्तयोगं P¹; सुदारुणां L; सुदारुणा J; सुदारुणा P²; R reads करिष्यन्ति मंही शून्यं रक्तघोरा युद्धारुणा.

60a-b ततस्तै C; मगधा B,H,L,N,S; मगधां C,D; कृत्वा A²,B,C,D,H,L,N,P²,S; कृत्वा A¹; कृत्वा P¹; गंगासीना C; गंगासानाः R; सुदारुणा L; सुदारुणां S; सुदारुणाः A^{1,2},P²,Q; सुदारुणाः J; सुदारुणा B,D,H,N.

c-d रक्तपातं तंवा A¹; तंथा Q; तेथा J; युद्धं P²; युद्धं A^{1,2},J,Q; तु H,N,S; पश्चिमां C,P².

अग्निवेश्यास्तु ते सर्वे राजानो कृतविग्रहाः ।

क्षयं यास्यन्ति युद्धेन यथैषामाश्रिता जनाः ॥ ६१ ॥

शकानां च ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः ।

दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते ॥ ६२ ॥

कलिङ्गशतराजार्थं विनाशं वै गमिष्यति ।

कोवेडुकण्डैः शबलैर्विलुप्यतो गमिष्यति ॥ ६३ ॥

61a-b अग्निवेश्यास्तु A^{1,2}, B, D, H, J, L, N, P², Q, S; सर्वे P¹; राजानः R; °विग्रहा C.

c-d यास्यन्ति P^{1,2}; यास्यति C; यथैषां आश्रिता C; यथैषामाश्रिता A^{1,2}, P², Q; °षामाश्रिता जनाः J.

62a-b शकानां P²; शत्रूनां R; शकानाञ्च P²; omit च Q; ह्यर्थः लुब्धा महाबलाः J; ह्यर्थलुब्धा महाबलाः A^{1,2}, B, H, L, N, P^{1,2}, Q, S; ह्यर्थलुब्धो मलः R.

c-d प्राप्तश्च R; चिनाशे D; विनाश S; विनाशै C; विनासे A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q; ससमुपस्थिते J; ससमुप⁰ Q; समुपस्थिते B, H, N, S.

63a-b कलिङ्ग⁰ P¹; कलिङ्गाश⁰ A², J, K, P², Q; °शतरा⁰ A¹; °राजार्थं A², B, D, H, J, K, N, P², Q, S; °राजाथे A¹, P¹; °राजार्थे C; कलिङ्गः शकराजार्थं R; विनाश C; वै B; च R; गामिष्यति S.

c-d केवेडु⁰ B; कोवेडुकण्डैः D; कोवेडुकण्डैः S; कौवेडुकण्डैः L; शकेद्र⁰ R; केचद्र⁰ A¹, J, K, Q; केचंद्र⁰ A²; केचन्द्रकण्डैः P¹; कोचन्द्रकण्डैः P²; शबलै⁰ H, J, Q, R, S; शबलैर्वि⁰ L; शबलैर्विलु⁰ Q; °विलुप्यतो B, D, H, L, N; °विलुप्यतो A^{1,2}, J, Q; °विलुप्यतो K, P²; °विलयंजो R.

कनिष्ठास्तु हताः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

विनष्टे शकराज्ये च शून्या पृथिवी भविष्यति ॥ ६४ ॥

पुष्पनाम तदा शून्य वीभत्स भवति वनं ।

भविष्यति नृपः कश्चिन्न वा कश्चिद्भविष्यति ॥ ६५ ॥

ततो रणे धनुमूलो भविष्यति महाबलः ।

आम्राटो लोहिताक्षेति पुष्पनामं गमिष्यति ॥ ६६ ॥

सर्वे ते नगरं गत्वा शून्यमासाद्य पर्वतं ।

64a-b कनिष्ठास्तु C; कनिष्ठेन R; हता A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q; सर्वे P^{1,2}; भविष्यन्ति K, P^{1,2}; संशयः A^{1,2}, J, Q.

c-d शकराजे K, R; शून्य L, R; पृथ्वी C, D, H, K, L, N, R; गमिष्यति R.

65a-b °नामा R; °नामान् P²; °नामान A², J, Q; °नामाना A¹, P¹; शून्या वीभत्स भवते C; शूरो वीभत्सः सं and omit भवति वनं R; भवति वनं S; वनं B, N; चतं D, L; चत A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q.

c-d कश्चिन्न वः R; कश्चिन्त वा A^{1,2}; कश्चिन् भविष्यति L; कश्चिन् भविष्यति P^{1,2}; कश्चिद्भविष्यति J, Q, S; कश्चिद्भविष्यति A¹.

66a-b ततो D; रणौ B, D, H, L, N, S; रणो A², J, Q; रणौ A¹; धनुमूलो B; - - - धनुमूले R; धनुमूली A²; धनुमूले Q; धनुमूलो H; धनुमूलो C; धनुमूलो N; धनुमूलो D, L; धनुमूलो S.

c-d आम्राटो R; आम्राटो A¹; आम्राटे C; आम्राटे D, H; आम्राटो A², Q; आम्राटो P^{1,2}; पुष्पनामा C; पुष्पनान्यं N; गामिष्यति A¹, Q.

67a-b सर्वे P¹; शून्यमासाद्य A^{1,2}, J, P¹, Q; पर्वतां D; पर्वतः A^{1,2}, B, H, J, L, N, P^{1,2}, Q, R, S.

अर्थलुब्धाश्च ते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ॥ ६७ ॥

ततः स म्लेच्छ आग्राटो रक्ताक्षो रक्तवस्त्रभृत् ।

जनमादाय विवशं परमुत्सादयिष्यति ॥ ६८ ॥

ततो वर्णास्तु चतुरः स नृपो नाशयिष्यति ।

c-d A¹ and P¹ both give 67c-d and 68a-b, then repeat these two, and subsequently again insert 67c-69d between 73b and c : thus, together with A² and P², each manuscript contains four accounts of 67c-68b, and three accounts of 68c-69d ; see sections 3 and 7 of the Introduction.

अर्थलुब्धाश्च R; अर्थबुधाश्च A¹⁻⁴, J, P^{1.2.4}, Q; अर्थबुधश्च P³; सर्वे P^{1.3.4}; भविष्यति P¹⁻⁴; न संशयः in place of महाबलाः C; R repeats 67a-b together with अर्थलुब्ध between भविष्यन्ति and महाबलाः.

68a-b C omits this line. स्व P³; स्क J; omit स P^{1.2}; म्लेच्छ B, D, H, J, L, N, S; आग्राटो B, D, H; अग्राटो A^{1.3}, J, P^{1.3.4}, Q; अभलाटो A²; अग्रा A⁴, P⁴; अग्राये S; स्ताक्षो H, S; स्ताक्षो B; स्तूक्षो P⁴; स्तूक्षौ A^{1.2.4}, J, Q; -- क्षौ A³; सूक्षो P^{1.2.3}; स्काक्षो L; वस्त्रः नृत् D.

c-d C omits this line. जनमादाय A^{1.2}, J, P^{1.2}, Q; जननामादाय A³, P³; विवशं D; परमु⁰ R; परमुत्साद⁰ A^{1.2}, J, P³, Q; परमुत्साद⁰ A³; दयेष्यति A^{1.2.3}, J, P^{1.3}, Q.

69a-b ततो N, S; वर्णास्तु C, L, R, S; वर्णासु D; वर्णास्क चस A^{2.3}, J, P^{1.2.3}, Q; वर्णास्क चस A¹; चतुरः H, N; नपो J; नाशयिष्यन्ति B; नाशयिष्यति C; नाजयिष्यति L.

वर्णान्व्यवस्थितान्सर्वान्कृत्वा पूर्वान्व्यवस्थितान् ॥ ६९ ॥

आग्राटो लोहिताक्षश्च विपत्स्यति सर्वाधवः ।

ततो भविष्यति राजा गोपालो नाम नामतः ॥ ७० ॥

गोपालस्तु ततो राज्यं भुक्त्वा संवत्सरं नृपः ।

पुष्पके चाभिसंयुक्तं ततो निधनमेष्यति ॥ ७१ ॥

c-d वर्णान्साव⁰ C, D; वर्णाधाव⁰ A^{1.2.3}, B, H, J, L, N, P^{1.2.3}, Q, S; वर्णान्व्यवस्थितान्स⁰ R; वस्थितान्स⁰ B, H, N, S; न्सर्वान्कृत्वा C; न्सर्वान्कृत्वा P^{1.2.3}; insert सर्वे after कृत्वा A^{1.2.3}, B, H, P^{1.2.3} [सर्वे], Q, S; पूर्वान्व्यवस्थितान् R; सर्वे in place of पूर्वा⁰ D; पूर्णा⁰ in place of पूर्वा⁰ B, C, H, L, N, S; व्यवस्थिते A^{1.2}, D, J, L, P^{1.2.3}, Q; व्यवस्थिते B, H, N; व्यवस्थितो S; व्यवस्थिभते A³; व्यवस्थिताः C.

70c-d भविष्यते A^{1.2}, B, D, H, J, L, N, P^{1.2}, R, S; गोपालो भाम A^{1.2}, J, P^{1.2}; नामतः A^{1.2}, P^{1.2}; Q reads ततो भविष्यति and then switches to 72a, omitting all in between.

71a-b B and Q omit this line. गोपालस्तु R; गोपालं तु C, D, H, J, L, N, S; गोपालं तु A^{1.2}, P^{1.2}; भुक्त्वा A², P^{1.2}, R; संवत्सरं R; नृप D, L.

c-d B and Q omit this line. पुष्पके A¹, J, R, S; चाभि⁰ D, N, R, S; निधनमेष्यति C.

ततो धर्मपरो राजा पुष्पको नाम नामतः ।
 सो ऽपि संवत्सरं राज्यं भुक्त्वा निधनमेष्यति ॥ ७२ ॥
 ततः स विपुलो राजा अनरण्यो महाबलः ।
 सो ऽपि वर्षत्रयं भुक्त्वा पश्चान्निधनमेष्यति ॥ ७३ ॥
 ततो विकुयशाः कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणो लोकविश्रुतः ।
 तस्यापि त्रीणि वर्षाणि राज्यं हृष्टं भविष्यति ॥ ७४ ॥
 ततः पुष्पपुरं रम्यं तथैव जनसंकुलं ।
 भविष्यद्वीरं सिद्धार्थं प्रसवोत्सवसंकुलं ॥ ७५ ॥

72a-b B omits this line. धर्मपरो A², J, Q; धर्मोपरो P¹; युष्पको J; नामतः A^{1,2}, J; नामकः S.

c-d संवत्सरान्पंच भुक्त्वा C, D; भुक्त्वा A^{1,2}, B, J, P^{1,2}, Q; निधान⁰ A¹, J; ⁰मेष्प्यति A¹; ⁰मेष्प्यती S; ⁰मेदयति R.

73a-b विमलो R; विलो A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q; अनरण्यो B, H, L, N, S; अनरण्यो A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q; भविष्यति in place of महाबलः R.

c-d A¹ and P¹ omit this line. भुक्त्वा A², P²; पश्चान्नि⁰ C.

74a-b A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q and R omit this line. विकुयशा H; विकु-यसाः D; विष्वक्कशाः C; लोकः विश्रुतः S.

c-d A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q and R omit this line. राज्य L; राष्ट्रं D; भविष्यतिः B.

75a-b ततः पुरस्यांतः तथैव R; पुष्पपुरस्यां तथैव B, H, L, N, S; पुष्पपुरस्यात तथैव A¹, J, P^{1,2}, Q; पुष्पपुरस्यात तथैव A²; जनसंकुलं J.

c-d भविद्वीर B, L; ⁰द्वीर C, D, N, S; सिद्धार्थं C, L; सिद्धार्थ A¹; सिद्धार्थं H; प्रसवोत्सव⁰ B; ⁰त्सवसंकुल R; प्रसवोत्सव⁰ L.

पुरस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वाहनं तस्य दृश्यते ।
 हयानां द्वे सहस्रे तु गजवाहस्तु कल्पितः ॥ ७६ ॥
 तदा भद्रयोके देशे ग्रामे(अग्नि)मित्रस्तत्र कीलके ।
 तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या सुमहारूपशालिनी ॥ ७७ ॥
 तस्यार्थे स नृपो घोरं विग्रहं ब्राह्मणैः सह ।
 तत्र विष्णुवशादेहं विमोक्षति न संशयः ॥ ७८ ॥

76a-b पुरस्य C, Q; दक्षिणे R; तत्र दृश्यते C.

c-d हयामां C; हायाना J; हया द्वे B, D, H, L, N, R, S; शहस्रे A^{1,2}, J, P^{1,2}, Q; तु N, S; गजावाहस्तु C; गजवाहस्ता A^{1,2}, P^{1,2}, Q; गजवाहाता काश्रतः J; काल्पितः A^{1,2}, B, H, L, N, P^{1,2}, Q, R, S.

77a-b भद्रपके R; भद्रायके C, D; भद्रयाके A^{1,2}, H, J, N, P¹, S; भद्रपाके P², Q; भद्रयोके B; भद्रयाके L; ग्रामेमित्र⁰ A¹, P^{1,2}; ग्रामोमित्र⁰ L, S; ग्रामेमित्र⁰ H, J, N, Q; श्रमित्र⁰ R; ग्रामेमित्रस्तत्र D; ग्रामेमित्रस्त A²; ग्रामेमित्रस्त कीलके C.

c-d तस्मिन्नुत्प⁰ P²; न्नुत्पत्सते C; न्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या B; न्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या P¹; कन्या H, N, S; तुमहा⁰ A²; सुमहारूपशालिनी C; ⁰शालिनी J, Q.

78a-b तस्यार्थे D; स J; घोर J; विक्रमं B, C, D, H, L, N, S; ब्राह्मणौ A^{1,2}, P¹, Q; ब्राह्मणे C, P²; ब्राह्मणौ J, R; सहा J, Q, R; प्रहा P².

c-d ततो in place of तत्र C; वि—वशा⁰ A^{1,2}, Q; विवशा⁰ P^{1,2}; वि—वसादेहं J; वित्युवशा⁰ D; ⁰वशादेह A^{1,2}, B, P^{1,2}, Q, R; विमोक्षति C, P^{1,2}; विमोक्षणि R; विमोक्षामि D.

तस्मिन्युद्धे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारुणे ।
अग्निवेश्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभुः ॥ ७६ ॥

तस्यापि विंशद्वर्षाणि राज्यं स्फीतं भविष्यति ।
अग्निवेश्यस्तदा राजा प्राप्य राज्यं महेन्द्रवत् ।
भीमैः शवरसंघातैर्विग्रहं समुपैष्यति ॥ ८० ॥

79a-b तस्मिन्युद्धे R; तस्मिन्युद्धं H; महाघोर C; मेहाघोरे A²; सप्यति-
क्रान्ते P¹; °क्रान्ते P²; °क्रान्त S; सुदारुणे R.

c-d अग्निवेश्य⁰ R; अग्निवेश्य⁰ A^{1,2}, B, H, L, N, P^{1,2}, Q, S; अग्निवेश्य⁰
J; C confuses this line with 80c-d, by reading अग्निवेश्य-
स्तत्र राजा प्राप्य राजा भविष्यति and transposing महाप्रभुः to
the start of 80a.

80a-b From this point onwards, A and P each contains only
one account of each line. गतस्यापि विष्यवर्षाणि C; विश-
द्वर्षाणि L; त्रिंशद्वर्षाणि N; विशद्वर्षाणि J; विंशद्वर्षाणि राज्य R;
स्फीतं A, J, P, Q; भविष्यति R.

c-d अग्निवेश्य⁰ B, H, N, S; आग्नेवेश्य⁰ A, P; आग्नेवेश्य⁰ J; अग्नेवेश्य⁰
Q; अग्निवेश्य⁰ L; तथा in place of तदा C; प्राप्या Q;
महेन्द्रवत् L; महेन्द्रवत् C, Q; महोद्वत् A, J, P.

e-f भीमै P; भीमैः R; भीमौ A, J, Q; शरर⁰ A, B, D, H, J, L, N, P,
Q, S; °संघातैर्विग्रहं B; °संघातैर्विग्रहं R; °संघातैः विग्रह D;
°संघातैर्विग्रहं A, J, Q; °संघातैर्विग्रहं P; समुपैष्यति A, H, P, Q;
समुपैष्यति J; C reads भीमैश्च सर्वसमाये विग्रहैः समुपैष्यति.

ततः शवरसंघोरे प्रवृत्ते सुमहाबले ।
वृषपातेन स नृपो मृत्युं समुपयास्यति ॥ ८१ ॥

ततस्तस्मिन् गते काले महायुद्धे सुदारुणे ।
शून्या वसुमती घोरा स्त्रीप्रधाना भविष्यति ॥ ८२ ॥

कृषिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लांगलोवर्णपाणयः ।
दुर्लभत्वान्मनुष्याणां क्षेत्रेषु धनुयोधनाः ॥ ८३ ॥

विंशद्भार्या दशो [..]या भविष्यन्ति नरास्तदा ।

81a-b शवरै⁰ R; शरर⁰ B, D, H, L, N, S; शरैर⁰ A, J, P, Q; सररसंज्ञाते
C; °संघाते D, R; °सच्छोरे A, P, Q; °सच्छोरे प्रवृत्ते J; सुमहा-
बले D; समुदावले J, P; समुदावले A; समुदःवले Q; °वल्ले H.

c-d वृषपातेन J; वृषयोतेन R; वृषयोतेना P, Q; वृषपीतेना A; मृत्यु C;
मृत्युः A, J, P, Q; मृत्कं L.

82a-b ततस्तस्मिन् A, J, Q; ततस्तस्मिन् P; ततस्तस्मिनाते काले
D, H, N, R, S; महायुद्ध P; महायुद्धो R; सुदारुणे A, J, P.

c-d शून्या वसुमती J, Q; चशुमती C; स्त्रीप्रधान R; भविष्यती C.

83a-b कृषि C, D; कृषी A, J, P, Q; तार्यः A, P, Q; तार्यः J; नार्य
करिष्यती C; करिष्यन्ति P; लांगलोवर्ण⁰ Q; लां — लोवर्ण⁰ A;
लांगलोवर्ण⁰ J, P; लोमलोवार्पणार्णयू C; R combines 83a and
84b by reading कृषिं तार्यं करिष्यन्ति नरास्तदा.

c-d R omits this line. दुर्लभत्वान्म⁰ D; °न्मनुष्यानां A, D, J, P, Q;
धनुयोधनाः J, Q; धनुपोदोनाः A; धनुषोधनाः L; धनयोजना C;
धनुधिना D.

84a-b R omits this line. विंशद्भार्या L, N; विंशद्भार्य B; विंशद्भार्या
H; विसद्भार्या P; विंशद्भार्या S; च्छशोया A, P, Q; छशोया J;

प्रक्षीणाः पुरुषा लोके दिक्षु सर्वासु पर्वसु ॥ ८४ ॥

ततः संघातशो नार्यो भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

आश्चर्यमिति पश्यन्तो दृष्ट्वाधो पुरुषा स्त्रियः ॥ ८५ ॥

स्त्रियो व्यवहरिष्यन्ति ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।

नराः स्वस्था भविष्यन्ति गृहस्था रक्तवाससः ॥ ८६ ॥

ततः सत्तुवरो राजा हत्वा दंडेन मेदिनी ।

छूशोया L; छाः ॥ या S; छाया N; छाया B,D,H; भविष्यन्ति P; भविष्यति नरस्तदा C; नरासदा B.

c-d प्रक्षीणा Q; प्रक्षीण C; प्रक्षीणेः पववं P; पुरुषं L,Q,R,S; पुरुषं A,B,H,J,N; दिक्षु J; सर्वसु C,N; सर्वास्तु पूर्वस R; पर्वसु B,H,N,S.

85a-b omit ततः D; नतः सवातशो A,J,P,Q; सपातशो C; संघातशो D; संघातशो H; नार्या J,Q; तार्यो R; भविष्यन्ति P; भविष्यति B,C,D.

c-d आश्चर्यमौते C; आश्चर्यामिति S; आश्चमिति L; आश्चर्यमिति पश्यन्तो P; पश्यन्तो R; दृष्ट्वाधो A,B,P,Q; दृष्टो C; पुरुष B,C, D,H,N,S; पुरुषं स्त्रियं R; पुरु स्त्रियः L; स्त्रियः C.

86a-b स्त्रियो C; °हरिष्यन्ति P; ग्रामेषु R; नगरेषु H,S; तगरेषु J,Q.

c-d नरा C,P; स्वस्थाः R; स्वस्था B,H,N,S; स्वस्था A,P,Q; स्वस्था L; भविष्यन्ति P; भविष्यति C; गृहस्था A,J,P,Q; गृहस्था B,H,N, S; रक्तवाससः C; रक्तवाससा B,D,L,N,S; रक्तवाससा H.

87a-b सत्तुवरो R; सत्तुवरो H,N,S; सात्तुवरो B; सवा डं वरो C; °वरो जा D; हत्वा B; हत्वा दंडेन D,R; दण्डेन P; दंडेण J; हेडेन C; मेदिनी A,B,C,H,J,P,Q.

व्यतीते दशमे वर्षे मृत्युं समुपयास्यति ॥ ८७ ॥

ततः प्रनष्टचारित्राः स्वकर्मोपहताः प्रजाः ।

करिष्यति च(श)को घोरो बहुलाश्च इति श्रुतिः ॥ ८८ ॥

चतुर्भागं च शस्त्रेण नाशयिष्यति प्राणिनां ।

हरिष्यन्ति शकाः कोशं चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरं ॥ ८९ ॥

ततः प्रजायां शेषायां तस्य राज्यपरिचयात् ।

देवो द्वादशवर्षाणि अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति ।

c-d व्यतीते A,J,P,Q; मृत्युमुपयास्यति N; समुपयास्यति B.

88a-b तत A,J,Q; प्रनष्टं चा° P; स्वकर्मोप° C.

c-d करिष्यं B,D,H,N,S; करिष्य L; करिष्यन्ति A,J,Q; करिष्यन्ति P; वको S; चक्रो B; करो C; चका P; वका A,J,Q; तको घोरा D; बहुलाश्च C; बहुलश्च S; श्रुति R; श्रुतः A,C,J,P,Q.

89a-b चतुर्भागं N; चतुर्भागं B; चतुर्भागं S; चतुर्भागं A,J,P,Q; तु in place of च A,J,P,Q,R; शस्त्रेणा S; शास्त्रेण A,C,D,J, P,Q; ताशयिष्य R; ताशयिष्यन्ति A,J; तापयिष्यन्ति P.

c-d हरिष्यति शकः R; कोश C; षोशं A,B,H,J,L,N,P,Q,R,S; षोडशं D; चतुर्भाग A,J,Q; चतुर्भाग P; चतुर्भागं N,S; स्वकं R; पुरं P.

90a-b प्रजायां शेषायां C; शेषायां A,P,Q; तस्मा R; राज्यां परि° H; राज्यस्य परि° A,J,P,Q; °परीक्षयात् D; °क्षयो R.

c-d दिवो Q; द्वादश° A; °वर्षाणी Q; अनावृष्टि A,J,P,Q,R; करिष्यन्ति B,H,S.

प्रजा नाशं गमिष्यन्ति दुर्भिक्षमयपीडिताः ॥ ६० ॥

ततः पापक्षते लोके दुर्भिक्षे रोमहर्षणे ।

भविष्यति युगस्यांतं सर्वप्राणिविनाशनं ॥ ६१ ॥

जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः ।

पृथिव्यां सलिलं सर्वं प्राणिनामुपयोक्ष्यति ॥ ६२ ॥

स्थास्यते सलिलं चात्र समुद्रेषु नदीषु च ।

मंडलेषु च दृश्यन्ते गंगायां सिंधुसागरे ॥ ६३ ॥

c-f नाशं Q,R; नासं गमिष्य B; नासं गमिष्यन्ति P; गमिष्यन्ते A,J,Q; गमिष्यति C; गमिष्यं H,L,N; गमिष्यं S; °पाडिताः H; Q combines 90a and 91b by reading °गमिष्यन्ते दुर्भिक्षे रोमहर्षणे.

91a-b पापक्षये A,J,P,R; पापक्षते C,D; दुर्भिक्ष C; दुर्भिक्षे B; रोमहर्षणे R.

c-d भविष्यन्ति B,D; युगस्य° A; युगस्याते C; युगस्यांते D; युगस्यान्तं P; युगस्यांतः सर्वाप्राणिविनाशने R; °विनाशनां Q; °विनाशानां A,J,P.

92a-b जनमारस्त R; घोरो J; भविष्यन्ति C,D; संशयः A,J,Q.

c-d स्तलिलं R; सर्व R,S; °मुपयोक्षति A,J,P,Q; °मुपभोक्ष्यति R; °मपयास्यति C.

93a-b स्थास्येते A,J,P; स्थस्येते Q; स्थास्याते C; स्थास्यते D; स्थास्यते B,H,S; स्थास्यते N; स्थास्यते L; सलिल A; समुद्रेषु A,J,P; समुद्रेषु N; repeat नदीषु R; नदीषु A,P; चा J,Q.

c-d omit मंडलेषु च R; मण्डलेषु च दृश्यन्ते P; गंगायां A,P,Q; गंगायां J; सिन्धु° P; सिन्धु J,Q.

इरावत्यां विशिखायां वेत्रवत्यां च सर्वशः ।

सुवर्णायां च कौशिक्यां सरस्वत्यां तथैव च ॥ ६४ ॥

कृच्छ्रा वृत्तिर्मनुष्याणां संचये समुपस्थिते ।

शमक्षमदमास्ते वै स्थास्यन्ति च युगक्षये ॥ ६५ ॥

नास्तिकं लब्धचारित्रमब्राह्मण्यं कलिप्रियं ।

वर्जयिष्यन्ति ते नित्यं ते स्थास्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ६६ ॥

94a-b इरावत्या D,L; इरावत्यं Q; इरावत्यां H,N; ईरावत्यां C; इनावत्यां A,J; इलावत्यां P; repeat विशिखायां S; विशिखायां वेत्रवत्या A,J,P,Q; विषाशायां वेत्रवत्यां R; वेत्रवत्या विशिखायां C; वेत्रवत्यां विशिखायां D.

c-d सुवर्णायां A,J,Q; कौशिक्यां सरस्वत्यां D; सरस्वत्या A; सरसत्यां J,Q; तथैव R; चा Q.

95a-b कृच्छ्रा B,D,J,R; कृच्छ्रा S; क्षत्रा L; क्षत्रा H,N; वृद्धिर्त्रिम° R; प्रवृत्तिर्म° B,H,L,N; प्रवृत्तिर्म° S; प्रावृत्तिर्म° A,P,Q; प्रावृत्ति-मभुष्याणां J; °मनुष्याणां B; संचये J; मक्षये C; समुपस्थिते L; समुपस्थिते B,H,N,S.

c-d शमक्षप° D; शमस्तम° Q; शमक्षमदमायो वै ते R; संशमस्तक्षम-स्यास्ते C; स्थास्यन्ति D; स्थास्यन्ति B,H,N,S; स्थास्यन्ति L; श्वस्थन्ति A,J,Q; श्वस्थन्ति P; omit च C,R.

96a-b नास्तिकं लब्धचारित्रमब्राह्मण्यं D; लब्धचास्तिम° H; लब्धचारित्रम° A,J,P,Q; लब्धचारित्रमब्राह्मण्यं R; लब्धचारित्रमब्राह्मण्यं — तिप्रियं C.

c-d वर्जयिष्यति A,J,P,Q; वर्जयेष्यन्ति C; वर्जयिष्यन्ति H,N,S; नित्य R; स्थास्यति J,Q; स्थास्यति P; स्थास्यति A; स्थास्यन्ति B,H,N,S; स्थास्यन्ति L; युगक्षय A,J,Q; युगक्षय P; युगक्षये R.

गावो वृद्धान्द्विजान्बालान्प्रमादा वार्थनिदिताः ।
 धैर्यं ये धारयिष्यन्ति ते स्थास्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ९७ ॥
 दुर्भिक्षाभ्याहते लोके अग्निभूते सुदारुणे ।
 अवेक्ष्यर्थं प्राणिनां सृष्टा द्वादशमंडलाः ॥ ९८ ॥
 शेषा धर्मप्रिया लोके ये नरा धर्मसंश्रिताः ।

After *sloka* 96, C and D insert the following :

अधर्मिके कृतघ्ने वा प्राक्रोशांते नराधमे ।

धैर्यं ये धारयिष्यन्ति ते स्थास्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥

with variants अधर्मिके D; प्राक्रोशांते D; स्थास्यन्ति C. This insertion is not found in any other manuscript : the second of these lines merely duplicates 97c-d.

97a-b गावश्च R; वृद्धान्द्विज⁰ Q; ⁰द्विजान्बाला⁰ A; ⁰द्विजान्बाला⁰ J,P;
⁰द्विजान्ब्राह्मणान्प्र⁰ B; omit ⁰बालान् S; ⁰बाला त्रमदाश्चप्य-
 निदिताः R; प्रमदा C,D; वार्थ⁰ B; चार्थ⁰ A,J,P,Q; वाथ-
 निदिता D; वाप्यनिदिता C; ⁰निदितः A,J,Q; ⁰निन्दितः P.

c-d धैर्यं P,R; धारयिष्यन्ति A,J,Q; धारयिष्यन्ति P; धरयेष्यन्ती स्ते
 स्थास्येति C; स्थास्यन्ति P; स्थास्यन्ति B,H,N,S; युगक्षयो Q.

98a-b ⁰भ्यांगमे लोके R; ⁰भ्यां लोके A,J,P,Q.

c-d अवेक्षार्थं D,R; अवेक्षार्था A,P,Q; अवेक्षार्था J; अवेक्ष्यर्थं
 प्राणिनां B; प्राणिनां L; प्राणिनां A,J,P; प्राणि Q; add तु after
 प्राणिनां C,D; सृष्टा C; सृष्टा J,Q; सृष्टा A,B,D,H,L,N,P,S;
 द्वादशमंडलां C; ⁰मंडला A,J,Q,R; ⁰मण्डला P.

99a-b शिषा A,J,P,Q; क्रोषा C; चरा C; धर्म⁰ both times P;
 धर्मांमाश्रिताः R; ⁰संश्रिता A,D,J,P,Q.

क्षुत्पिपासपरिश्रान्तास्ते स्थास्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ९९ ॥

तत्र द्वे मंडले सृष्टे नदी यत्र गवेधुका ।

अष्टयोजनविस्तारा अजातागिरिशोभिता ॥ १०० ॥

तत्र ये संश्रयिष्यन्ति राष्ट्रे श्रेयो ऽभिकांक्षिणः ।

ते श्रित्वा सर्वतो भद्रं प्राप्स्यन्ति सुखमुत्तमं ॥ १०१ ॥

ततः समुद्रतीरेषु तृतीयं मंडलं स्मृतं ।

यत्र मत्स्यैर्महामांसैर्जीविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ १०२ ॥

c-d क्षुत्पिपासा⁰ B,H,L,N,S; क्षुत्पिपासा⁰ A; क्षुत्पिपासा⁰ J,Q; क्षुत्पि-
 पासा⁰ P; ⁰परिश्रान्ता ते A,B,H,N,Q,S; परिश्रान्ता ते L,P;
 परिश्रान्ता जे याज्मं J; यास्थं Q; थास्थं A,P; यास्थन्ति D,H,L,
 N,S; यास्यान्ति B; युयुग⁰ S; युगक्षयो J,P,Q; युगक्षय B;
 युगक्षयं D.

100a-b मण्डले L,P; षंडले J; सुष्टे A,J,Q; श्रेष्ठ C; गवेधुकाः D.

c-d अष्टयोजनविस्तारा J; ⁰विस्ताराजा अजाता⁰ R; अज्याता⁰ C;
 अजातागिरि⁰ J; ⁰शोभिताः D; ⁰शोभिता R; ⁰शेषाभिता B.

101a-b संश्रयिष्यन्ति P; संश्रयिष्यन्ति R; संश्रयिष्यन्ति B; संश्रयिष्यन्ति
 J,Q; संशयिष्यन्ति राष्ट्रे C; रश्रयो D; ऽभिकांक्षणा A,J,P,Q;
 विकांक्षिणः C.

c-d मे in place of ते J; श्रिता C; श्रित्वा P,Q; सृत्वा A,J; त्स्त्वा
 R; सर्वासो C; भद्रं A,J,Q; भृत्वा P; प्राप्स्यन्ति C,P; प्राप्स्यन्ति
 B,H,N,S; प्राप्स्यन्ति J; प्राप्स्यन्ति सुखमुत्तमां R.

102a-b तृतीयं C,J; मण्डलं L,P; स्मृतं C.

c-d यंत्र R; मत्र J; मत्स्यैर्म⁰ L; मत्स्यैर्म⁰ B,H; मत्स्यैर्म⁰ A,J,Q;
 मत्तास्यम⁰ P; मत्स्यैर्म⁰ D; मत्स्यैर्महाकारैर्जावि⁰ C; ⁰महाहारैर्जी⁰

ततो दक्षिणपूर्वेण प्रत्यंतेषु महावने ।

तत्र ये निवसिष्यन्ति स्थास्यन्ते ते युगक्षये ॥ १०३ ॥

नर्मदायास्तु तीरेषु पर्वतः पालपंजरः ।

तत्र बीजानि स्थास्यन्ति वर्तमाने युगक्षये ॥ १०४ ॥

ततो महेन्द्रभागेषु दक्षिणेषु महावने ।

तत्र प्राणान्सुबहवो धारयिष्यन्ति ते ऽवसन् ॥ १०५ ॥

103a-b B,H,L,N; °महाहारैजी° S; °महाहारैः जी° D; °महामारैजो° A,J,P,Q; °महामांसैजी° R; °जोविष्यन्ती J; युगक्षयो J,P,Q. दक्षिणा J; दक्षिणपूर्वेण B,H,N,S; दक्षिणवर्षेष्टै L; omit °पूर्वेण J,Q; °पूर्वेण प्रत्यंतेषु महावलाः C; प्रत्यंतेषु B; प्रत्यान्तेषु P; महावते A; महावले P.

c-d A,J,P and Q omit this line. निवसिष्यन्ति D; त in place of ते D.

104a-b A,J,P and Q omit this line. नर्मदायां तु B,C,D,H,L,N; तीरे तु R; पर्वतः पालकंजरः C; पालपंजरः S; पालपंम्जरः R; प्रांजल स्मृतः D.

c-d A,J,P and Q omit this line. बीजानि H,S; बीजानी B; द्विजातयः in place of बीजानि R; स्थास्यति C; स्थास्यन्ते L; स्थास्यन्ति B,H,N,S; वर्तमाने C,D,H,N; वर्तमान R.

105a-b A,J,P and Q omit this line. महाभागेषु C; महेन्द्र° R; महेन्द्र° L; °भोगेषु B,D,H,L,N; महावने C.

c-d प्राणात्सु° R; °न्सुबहवा C; °न्सुबहवो L; धारयिष्यति A,J,Q; धारयन्ति P; वसन P; वसत् R; वसन् C.

ततः कावेरीतीरेषु मंडले शतयोजने ।

तत्र मीनैर्वराहैश्च तुष्टिमेष्यन्ति मानवाः ॥ १०६ ॥

ततो भोजकटाभ्यासे मंडले शतयोजने ।

यत्र मीनैः पतंगैश्च तुष्टिमेष्यन्ति मानवाः ॥ १०७ ॥

ततः कुविंदविषयेष्वंतरेषु महावने ।

सद्यन्ति प्राणिनो यत्र सृष्टमत्र गुणान्वितं ॥ १०८ ॥

106a-b कावेरि° A,C; कारेविनोतेषु P; °नीतेषु A,Q; वसंतः in place of मंडले R; मंशतंशंयोजने A,P; मंशतंशंयोजने J,Q.

c-d मानैर्वराहैश्च R; मीनेपतंगैश्च D; °वरहैश्च B; तुष्टि° N; °मेष्यन्ति मानवोः P; मानवा D; मानवः A,J,Q.

107a-b नोकाटा° A,J,Q; लौकाचा° P; °ाभ्यासे R; °ाभ्यास्ये L; शतयोजने J.

c-d मीनैः A,Q; मीने D; पतंगैश्च A; पतंगैश्च Q; पतंगैश्च J; पतंगैश्च P; तुष्टि° N,S; तोष° R; °मेष्यन्ति P; मानवा D; R repeats this line, by reading °मानवाः ॥ ततः तयोजने यत्र°.

108a-b ततः -- कुविंद° C; कुविन्द° P; °विषयेष्वंतरेषु C,R; °विषयेष्वंतरेषु L; °विषयेषु A,J,P,Q; महावते Q; महावसे J; महानते A,P.

c-d सद्यन्ति A,P; भोद्यन्ति R; भविष्यं C; भविष्यन्ते D; यत्राति in place of यत्र A,J,P,Q; सृष्ट° D,R; सृष्ट° C; सृष्ट° B; °मन्त्रं S; °मन्त्रं B,D,H,L,N; °मन्त्रं A,J,Q,R; °मन्त्रं P; गुडान्वितं J,Q,R; गुडान्वित A; गुडान्विता P.

देवीकूटे च शैलेंद्रस्त्रीकूटो नाम विश्रुतः ।

क्षुत्पिपासाभयाद्भीता यत्र स्थास्यंति मानवाः ॥ १०६ ॥

शैलो जरद्गवो नामा वास्ति शूल पुरोगमः ।

यत्र स्थास्यंति देहानि मानुषाणां युगक्षये ॥ ११० ॥

शैलस्य पारियात्रस्य त्रिकूटो नाम विश्रुतः ।

देहिनस्तत्र स्थास्यंति मृणालैः पुष्करैस्तथा ॥ १११ ॥

109a-b देवीकूले R; देवीकूटे P; देवीकूटे A,J,Q; प in place of च J; शैलेन्द्र° P; शैलेंद्र° A,H; शैलेंद्र° J; शैलेंद्रस्त्रीकूटो D; °स्त्रीकूटो L; °स्त्रीकूटो P; शैलेंद्र - कूटे - - विश्रुतः C; पिस्मतः R; Q reads देवीकूटे च शैलस्य° and thereafter continues with 111a, omitting all in between.

c-d Q omits this line. क्षुत्पिपासा° H; क्षुत्पिपासा° A,J,P; °भया° B; °भयाद्गीता H; °भयाद्भीता S; स्थास्य A,P; स्थास्यं J; स्थास्यंति B,H,N,S; मानवः R; मानवाः A; ग्रामवा P.

110a-b Q omits this line. शैलो A,P; जरद्गवो J; जरद्गवो R; सामा A,B,H,J,N,P,Q,S; नीम C; नांनामा R; साम L; वस्ति B,D,H,L,N,S; वति C; चास्ति R; पुरोगमाः C; पुरोगमः J; धरोयमः R.

c-d Q omits this line. तत्र R; स्थास्यन्ति P; स्थास्यंति B,H,N,S; मानुषाणां P; मानुषाणां A; मानुषाणां C; मानुषाणां R.

111a-b पारिजातस्य B; पारियात्रस्य कूटो A,J,Q; पारित्रस्य कूटो P; निःकूटो R; C repeats 110c-d and 111a-b after 111b, with further variants मानुषाणां [110d] and विकोटो.

c-d देहिनस्तत्र L; देहिनस्तत्र P; स्थास्यन्ति P; स्थास्यंति A,J,Q; स्थास्यंति B,H,N,S; मृणालैः C; मृणालैः P; पुष्करैस्तथा C;

ततो भद्रेयके देशे ध(अ)रण्ये पंचकानने ।

नदी यत्र महाभागा अशोकातीव विश्रुता ॥ ११२ ॥

यत्र शाकैश्च जीव्यंते धान्यैर्मूलफलैस्तथा ।

धारयिष्यंति मनुजा घोरे तस्मिन्युगक्षये ॥ ११३ ॥

एतद्भविष्यमाख्यातं मया ते वर्हिणध्वज ।

पुष्करे तथा D; R ends a folio side with स्थास्यं and continues with ति मानवः of 109d, thereafter repeating 110a-111c without further variants.

112a-b भद्रेयको D; नद्रेयके J,P,Q; शे in place of देशे A,J,P,Q; द्वरण्ये R; धनन्ये A,J,P,Q; पंचकाननि A,Q; पञ्चकाननि P; पंचकाननि J.

c-d अशोकानीव Q,S; °कानिव P; °कनीव A; °कातीवि J; °कावीती C; °काचीति D; विश्रुताः D,P,R.

113a-b जीव्यन्ते P; धान्यैर्मूल° A,B,H,N,P,Q,S; धान्यैर्मूल° J; °लफलैस्तथा L; Q repeats 112a-113b after 113b, without further variants.

c-d धारयिष्यन्ति P; धारयिष्यंति D; धारयिष्यति J,Q; धारयिष्यन्ति R; धेरि J,Q; धेरि A; धेरि P; युगक्षयो Q.

114a-b एतद्भविष्यतिमा° A,B,H,L,N,P; एतद्भविष्यतिमा° J,Q,S; °माख्यातं Q; °माख्यात J; °माख्याजं A,P; °माख्यात and omit rest of line R; omit मया ते A,J,P,Q; वर्हिणध्वजं A,B,D,H,N,P; वर्हिणध्वजं J,Q; वर्हिणध्वजी L; वर्हिणध्वजी S.

एवं ये तु चरिष्यन्ति ते ऽपि सर्वं सदा सुखं ॥ ११४ ॥

शतं शतसहस्राणामेष कल्पः सदा स्मृतः ।

पूर्वे युगसहस्रांते कल्पो निःशेष उच्यते ॥ ११५ ॥

इति वृद्धगार्गीये ज्योतिषे युगपुराणं नाम

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

c-d ते in place of ये B; सेतुं C; त्तु N,S; चरिष्यन्ति P; चरिष्यति A,Q; वरिष्यन्ति B,C,D,H,L,N; वरिष्यति S; तरिष्यन्ति C; omit ते P; repeat ते J; सर्वं A,J,P,R; सुखं H.

115*a-b* omit शत° B; शतं वातसहस्राणामेष C; कल्प J,Q; कल्प P; कल्म A; करन्य N; स्मृताः C,R.

c-d पूर्व° R; युग° S; °सहस्रांते J,S; °सहस्रान्ते कल्पो P; कल्मो J; तिशेष A,J,P,Q.

omit इति A,B,H,J,L,N,P,Q,S; श्रीवृद्ध° R; omit वृद्ध° C,D; °गार्गीये D,R; युक्तापुराणं S; स्कंदपुराणं C,D; °पुराण L; °पुराणां J; नामः P; जाम S; नामाध्यायः C,R.

NOTE : Square brackets denote words supplied, round brackets denote explanatory words or terms.

1. Formerly the spear-holder Skanda questioned¹ Śaṃkara (Śiva): "What was the nature of the Time which has gone by in the past, and what is to be the nature [of Time in the future] ?

2. What [will be] the length of life and what the bodily form of living beings: and what also will be the strength of *tapas* (ascetic practices) at the end of the Yuga ?

3. What [will be] the degree of authority at the start of the Yuga, and the *dharmas* (forms of righteous conduct) in each Yuga: and at the end of the Yuga, [what] will be² the state of affairs at that time, O Lord of Creatures ?"³

4. Having heard this agreeable speech of Skanda, who is unwearied in action, the Lord God (Śiva), the Supreme One, himself spoke to the spear-holder.

5. The Time which has gone by has been heard about, and what was formerly made known [about it] sets out the measure and the name-and-form⁴ of the Yugas.

6. In a very pleasant [time]⁵ there arose a Yuga of supreme virtue: then were born men of great fortune, resembling Sūrya (the Sun) and Agni (the Fire).

7. There was no fear among them about sustaining life, nor was there death, nor thieves: they had trees which bore fruit at will, and the earth was full of corn.

8. Their life-span extended for 100,000 years in the Kṛta Yuga ;

1 Literally "questions": a mixing of tenses is characteristic of several parts of this work.

2 Or, "is likely to be" (optative).

3 *prajā-vibho* is here equivalent to *prajā-pati*, "lord of created beings".

4 *nāma-rūpa*: the defining characteristics.

5 There is evident corruption of the first part of this line in all mss.: a plausible emendation might be *surakṛtaṃ yugaṃ nāma*, "there was a Yuga called Sura-kṛta (made by the Gods)".

there was no greed among them, nor anger in the bodies of created beings.

9. There was⁶ neither passion nor deceit, neither depravity nor meanness: neither carnal contact nor sexual union, nor superiority through force.⁷

10. In that Kṛta Yuga were born Devas (gods), Gandharvas (heavenly musicians) and Kinnaras (creatures half-men and half-beasts), Dānavas (demons) and leading Yakṣas (rural demigods), Rākṣasas (flesh-eating demons) and also mighty Urāgas (semi-divine serpents).

11. They ascended⁸ upwards to the sun, and they shone⁹ like the sun: [and] all men then possessed strength of tapas (asceticism) in the age of the Kṛta Yuga.¹⁰

12. Then at the end of the Kṛta Yuga, Kṛtānta (Death)¹¹ drew near; and a great battle then commenced, (called) the damage of Tāraka.

13. After that great battle had been set in motion by the Devas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras together with Deva-Rṣis (godly sages), Siddhas (perfected beings), Rākṣasas and mighty Urāgas,

14. then, once that battle had passed, those who remained were possessed of life: and for the sake of their protection, the Kṣatra (power of the warrior-caste) was created by Svayambhū (Brahmā).

15. Then feminine qualities and women [came into existence]: and for [the sake of] those two, a [new] Yuga was¹² announced in which all the four *varṇas* (castes) became occupied with their own deeds.¹³

16. *Dharma* was established among the four *varṇas*, and the *agni-hotra* (fire-sacrifice) was performed: there were then many *śāstras* (sacred books), *mantras* (sacred formulae) and *japas* (prayers).

17. All the Vipras (Brahmins) had their abodes in forests, and were

6 Lit. "is".

7 Lit. "superiority through the rod": the use of *daṇḍa* as a symbol of power, authority and punishment is particularly characteristic of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

8 Lit. "ascend".

9 Lit. "shine".

10 The stylistic repetition *kṛtayuge yuge* is parallel to *tretāyuge yuge* in *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.65.12; see section 8 of the Introduction.

11 A play upon the name Kṛtānta (= Yama), also meaning literally "the end of the Kṛta".

12 Lit. "is".

13 *sva-karma* corresponding to *sva-dharma*, "ones own duty".

learned in the Vedas; once the second Yuga had arrived, men were upright and not deceitful.

18. Kṣatriya, too, were skilful in protecting the people, destroying (enemies) in battle: and they were judicious and steadfast guardians of the Vipras.

19. The protection of cattle, agriculture, and the support of Brahmins [were engaged upon]; Vaiśyas were intent upon their own deeds, and Śūdras upon service.

20. When the world was thus devoted to *dharma* and absorbed in the practice of truth, then both anger and greed descended upon the surface of the earth.

21. The life-span-together with roots, fruits and flowers—was reduced by a tenth part: the life-span in the Tretā Yuga was established as 10,000 years.

22. Then at the end of the Tretā Yuga, once Kṛtānta had approached, the earth was made devoid of Kṣatriyas thrice-seven times by Rāma.¹⁴

23. Then, when the Kṣatra had been destroyed [and] another Yuga had approached, there thereupon commenced the terrible third Dvāpara Yuga.

24. Here the length of life of beings was shortened by a tenth part: the sad people left¹⁵ the body after 1,000 years.

25. There was¹⁶ among them no fettering and slaying,¹⁷ terrible because of the employment of violence; in the third Yuga, men [and] the earth [were possessed of] *dharma*s free from distress.

26. The lords of men, the guardians, were skilful [as] protectors of the people: [and] there were truth, righteousness and sacrifices in the renowned Dvāpara Yuga.

27. Because *dharma* had [still] one quarter left on the surface of the earth, no remaining man strode [on the earth] who questioned¹⁸ his own *dharma*.

14 Viz. Paraśu-Rāma or "Rāma with the axe", who routed the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times in order to avenge the death of his father: see e.g. *Mahābhārata* 3.116.1-3.117.15.

15 Lit. "leave".

16 Lit. "is".

17 For *vadha-bandhau* (dual), cf. *Manu* 5.49.

18 Lit. "questions".

28. And at the end of that Yuga, the earth will go to destruction: men, having come under the control of Time, will cook [for] their own bodies.

29. Keśava (Viṣṇu) will arise at the end of the Dvāpara, in order to destroy horses and elephants, princes and men:

30. [he will be] four-armed, of great valour, bearing the conch, disk and mace: [and he will be] called Vāsudeva, the strong one, dressed in yellow clothes.

31. Then, resembling Kailāsa, wearing a garland of flowers [and] bearing the plough as weapon,¹⁹ there will arise Yudhiṣṭhira—the excellent king of the Pāṇḍavas—for the purpose of slaughter at the end of the Dvāpara, together with [his] four brothers:

32. [namely] both Bhīmasena the son of Vāyu, and Phālguna of severe *tapas*, and the two brothers Nakula and Sahadeva, born of the Aśvins.

33. Also Bhīṣma, Droṇa and others, and the prince Dhṛṣṭadyumna: and Karna the king of Āṅga, together with Aśvatthāman the invincible;

34. Devaka and Śatadhanvan, and Dāruka the illustrious—they will arise at the end of the Yuga, in order to protect the world of men.

35. So too Śakuni and Dantavakra, and Śiśupāla the haughty: together with Śalya, Rukmi, Jarāsandha, Kṛtavarma [and] Jayadratha.

36. The cause [of strife] of these might kings will be Kṛṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada: [and] the earth will go²⁰ to [her] destruction.

37. Then, when the destruction of men has occurred and the circle of kings has ended, there will be the fourth [and] final Yuga called Kali.

38. Then at the start of the Kali Yuga, Janamejaya Pāriṣit (son of Parikṣit) will be born, illustrious and celebrated on the earth—there is no doubt.

39. And that king will cause a quarrel with the Twice-born: his anger for his insulted wife having come under the power of Time.

40. Then in the Kali Yuga [there will be] a strong king called

19 *vanamālīn* in generally an epithet of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, *halāyudha* of his brother Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma. This first part of the śloka, although given in all mss., seems to have been interpolated subsequent to the composition of the work as a whole: see section 3 of the Introduction.

20 Lit. "went".

Udāyin,²¹ born of [the line of] Śiśunāga, [who will be] righteous [and] celebrated on earth for his qualities.

41. On the southern [and] most excellent bank of the Gaṅgā, that Rāja-Rṣi (royal sage) will cause²² a pleasant city to be founded, filled with people and flower-gardens.

42. And that pleasant city, the City of Flowers (Puṣpapura), the son of Pāṭali,²³ will endure for 5,000 years—there is no doubt of that:

43. and for 500 years, and for five years, and for five months, and for five days and *muhūrtas*.²⁴

44. In that beautiful Puṣpapura, occupied by fewer than a hundred kings, there will be Śālīśūka, born for the destruction of truth,²⁵ the offspring of *karma* (Fate).

45. That king, the offspring of *karma*, cheerful-minded [yet] fond of conflict, [will be] an oppressor of his own kingdom, of righteous speech but unrighteous conduct;

46. that deluded one will cause his eldest brother—famed as the "Banner of Sādhus (ascetics)" because of his qualities—to establish a righteous [person] called Vijaya.²⁶

47. Then, having approached Sāketa together with²⁷ the Pañcālas and Māthuras, the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks)—valiant in battle—will reach Kusumadhva.²⁸

48. Then, once Puṣpapura has been reached [and] its celebrated mud [-walls] cast down, all the realms will be in disorder—there is no doubt.

21 Most mss. give this name as Udadhin or Udadhī: but other Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist sources usually give it as Udayin, Udaya or Udāyibhadda; see section 10.B of the Introduction.

22 Lit. "causing to found".

23 A play upon the name Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha: named most probably after the rose-coloured trumpet-flowers of the *pāṭali* tree.

24 A *muhūrta* is a thirtieth part of a day, or 48 minutes.

25 Taking the compound as *ṛta-kṣa-ja*.

26 Since Śālīśūka was a Maurya successor of Aśoka, some play upon the concept of *dharma-vijaya* or "conquest through righteousness" may be intended: but as it stands, *vijayam nāma dhārmikam* must be translated as above; see section 10.C of the Introduction.

27 The subject of *prāpsyanti* must be *yavanāḥ pañcālā māturaś* is clearly also nominative, and the most likely sense seems to be as above; see section 10.D of the Introduction.

28 Lit. "the one whose emblem is the flower": another play on the name Pāṭaliputra, which was also called Puṣpapura and Kusumapura.

49. There will then finally be a great war of wooden weapons: and there will be the vilest men; dishonourable and unrighteous.

50. At the end of the Yuga, Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will be similar in dress, and of similar conduct—there is no doubt.

51. At that end of the Yuga, men will be allied with Pāṣaṇḍas (heretics): they will make friends for the motive of [gaining] women—there is no doubt.

52. There will be low-born²⁹ Bhikṣukas (mendicants) in the world, clothed in bark-cloth [and] wearing matted hair and bark-garments—there is no doubt.

53. Once the end of the Yuga has approached, low-born men—contemptible and loathesome—will offer the three sacred fires as sacrifice in the world, with *mantras* celebrated by the sacred syllable “om”.

54. Śūdras who are persistent in feeding the fire with ghee, in chanting, and in all to do with the [sacred] fire, will exist at the end of the Yuga—there is no doubt.

55. Śūdras will also be utterers of “bho”,³⁰ and Brahmins will be utterers of “ārya”.³¹ [and] the elders, most fearful of *dharma*, will fearlessly exploit the people.

56. And in the city the Yavanas, the princes, will make this [people]³² acquainted with them: [but] the Yavanas, infatuated by war, will not remain in Madhyadeśa;³³

57. there will be mutual agreements among them [to leave], [due to] a terrible and very dreadful war having broken out in their own realm—there is no doubt.

58. Then, at the disappearance of those Yavanas due to the power of the Yuga, there will be seven mighty kings in Sāketa.

29 Lit. “Vṛṣala-Bhikṣukas”: a Vṛṣala is virtually synonymous with a Śūdra.

30 The common form of address, used especially towards an equal or inferior.

31 The form of address used towards a superior.

32 Presumably referring back to *janam* in the previous *śloka*: but the reading of the first part of this *śloka* is not altogether satisfactory.

33 Brahmanical sources usually give the eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa as Prayāga or modern Allahabad: but several Buddhist sources extend the boundary to Kaṇḍakāla (south-east Bihar: e.g. *Mahāvagga* 5.13.12-13; *Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇī* 14.1.17, ed. vol.2 p.429) and even Puṇḍra (north Bengal: e.g. *Divyāvadāna*, ch.1 pp.21-22). The latter sense is evidently implied in the present context.

59. [Their] soldiers in like manner, wounded in battle by blood-soaked warriors, will make the earth desolate, hideous with blood, and violent.

60. Then all those Magadha-peoples dwelling by the Gaṅgā (will become) violent: and so there will finally be bloodshed and war.

61. All those Agniveśya kings, when they have created hostilities, will go to destruction in battle, as too the peoples having recourse to them.

62. And then the mighty king of the Śakas [will be] greedy for wealth, [and] vicious and evil once his destruction has approached:

63. he will go to his destruction on account of king Śata of Kalinga³⁴—he will go while plundering, through [the agency of] the Koveḍukaṇḍa Śabalas.

64. All the youngest men will be killed—there is no doubt: and when the Śaka realm has been destroyed, the earth will be desolate.

65. Then Puṣpanāma³⁵ will become³⁶ empty and hideous, a forest: there may be some prince—or there may not be some [prince].

66. Then, in the conflict, there will be a mighty temporary possessor of power.³⁷ Āmrāta, called Lohitākṣa (Red-eyed), will go to Puṣpanāma.

67. All those who have gone to the city, having approached [it through] the desolate hill-area, will all be mighty and greedy for wealth.

68. Then he, Āmrāta the Mleccha (outcaste), red-eyed [and] wearing red garments, having robbed the helpless people, will then cause them to be destroyed.

69. Then that king will destroy the four *varṇas*, having made established all the *varṇas* which were traditionally unestablished.

70. And Āmrāta Lohitākṣa will perish, together with his kinsmen. Then there will be a king called Gopāla:

71. but then, when king Gopāla has ruled the kingdom for a year conjointly with Puṣpaka, he will then go to his death.

72. Then [there will be] the righteous king called Puṣpaka: he, having ruled the kingdom for a year, will [then] go to his death.

34 Or, “the Śata king of Kalinga”.

35 Lit. “the one called the Flower/Puṣpa”, i.e. Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra.

36 Lit. “becomes”.

37 “Temporary possessor” for *mūla*, cp. *Manu* 8.202; *dhanu* is here equivalent to *daṇḍa*, viz. the symbol of power and authority.

73. Then there will be that mighty and virtuous king Anarāya: he, having ruled for three years, will finally³⁸ go to his death.

74. Then [there will be] Vikuyāśas, a certain Brahmin famed in the world: his reign will be rejoiced for [a period of] three years.

75. Then indeed Puṣpapura [will be] pleasant and overflowing with people: it will be eminent and successful, full of birth-ceremonies.

76. On the southern side of the city is seen its [principal] draught-animal—a caparisoned draught-elephant, [together with] two thousand horses.

77. Then in the Bhadrāyaka country [there will be] Agnimitra,³⁹ in the Kilaka [-year];⁴⁰ in that [land] will be born a young girl of exceedingly beautiful form.

78. On account of her, that king [will have] a terrible quarrel with the Brahmins: then, by the decree of Viṣṇu, he will depart from the body—there is no doubt.

79. Once that very dreadful and very terrible conflict has passed, then Agniveśya will be king, a mighty lord.

80. His reign will be successful for twenty years: then king Agniveśya, having obtained his kingdom like Mahendra,⁴¹ will engage in a struggle with terrible encounters with the Śavaras.

81. Then, occupied with a very strong encounter with the Śavaras, that king will go to his death through the shot of a strong man.

82. Then, when that very terrible great battle has passed in time, the earth will be desolate, terrible, and predominating in women.

83. Women will do the ploughing, with hands the texture of the plough: [and they will be] warriors with bows in the fields, due to the scarcity of men.

84. Men will then have⁴² twenty wives⁴³ once people have diminished [in number] in the world in every region and division.

38 Or, "in the West".

39 For "Agnimitra" in place of "Āmemitra" in most mss., see section 7 of the Introduction.

40 For the Kilaka-year in the cycle of Jupiter, see section 10.G of the Introduction.

41 Or, "great Indra".

42 Lit. "be".

43 The lacuna in all mss. makes translation impossible: a plausible suggestion might be *daśo* [bhog] yā, "and ten mistresses", but this is hypothetical.

85. Then women will abound in numbers—there is no doubt: when men have observed women from an inferior [social] position, they behold an extraordinary sight.

86. Women will trade in the villages and towns, [while] men will be at ease as *gr̥hasthas* (house-holders), dressed in red.

87. Then king Satuvāra, having afflicted the earth with his rule, will go to his death once his tenth year has passed.

88. Then the terrible Śaka⁴⁴ will cause the peoples, acting for their own destruction [and] afflicted by [the results of] their own deeds, to be also scattered—so it has been heard.

89. He will destroy a quarter of living beings by arms: [while] the Śakas will take a quarter of the wealth to their own city.

90. Then the god will cause a drought for twelve years among the peoples remaining after the destruction of the realm of that one:⁴⁵ people will go to destruction, afflicted by famine and fear.

91. Then, when the world is rent by evil in the terrible famine, there will be the end of the Yuga, the destruction of all living beings.

92. There will then be a terrible epidemic—there is no doubt; [and] on the earth, all the waters of living being will unite together.⁴⁶

93. So too in both the oceans and the rivers, the water will then stand still: [such things] are seen also in the surrounding areas—in the Gaṅgā, and in the Sindhusāgara;⁴⁷

94. in the Irāvātī, in the Viśikhā, and in the Vetravātī—everywhere; also indeed in the Suvarṇa, in the Kauśiki, and in the Sarasvatī.

95. The condition of men will be painful, once the destruction of the world has approached: but calmness, patience and self-restraint⁴⁸ will indeed remain at the end of the Yuga.

96. These who will ever cause disbelief, avaricious conduct, [and] that which is un-Brahmanical and dear to the Kali to turn away, they will remain at the end of the Yuga.

44 For śaka in place of caka in mss., cf. Burrow, 'Some cases of alternation between c and ś in Sanskrit'.

45 "That one", vis. the Śaka.

46 Recalling the Epic and Purāṇic Manvantara tradition, where the worlds are flooded to become a single ocean.

47 Vis. the mouths of the river Indus.

48 This list of three cardinal virtues is comparable with those in the Beṣṇagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus (part 2 lines 1-2) and in *Mahābhārata* 11.7.19 et.al.

97. Speech towards old men, Twice-born and children [will consist of] blunders or [will be] of evil meaning: [but] those who will maintain firmness will remain at the end of the Yuga.

98. When the world has been afflicted with famine and has become a terrible fire,⁴⁹ [then] from regard for the welfare of living beings, twelve regions were created.

99. The remnant in the world who are dear to *dharma*, those men who resort to *dharma*, they will remain at the end of the Yuga, wearied by hunger and thirst.

100. Two regions were created where the river Gavedhukā [flows]—eight *yojanas*⁵⁰ broad, and adorned by the Ajātā mountain.

101. Those who will seek refuge there, longing for a better condition in that realm, will attain excellent happiness once they have resorted from all sides to that auspicious place.

102. Then the third region is known as [being] on the shores of the ocean, where [men] will live on fish and costly flesh at the end of the Yuga.

103. Then [there is a region] in the great forest in the adjacent areas in the south-eastern region: those will be dwelling there will remain at the end of the Yuga.

104. On the banks of the Narmadā is the mountain Pālapañjara: there the seeds [of living beings] will remain as the end of the Yuga occurs.

105. Then [there is a region] in the great forest in the southern parts of the Mahendra [mountain]: those [who] used to dwell there will maintain many living beings.

106. Then [there is a region] on the banks of the Kāverī, in a region of 100 *yojanas*: men will achieve contentment there, through fish and boars.

107. Then [there is a region] in the vicinity of Bhojakāṣa, in a region of 100 *yojanas*: men will attain contentment there, through fish and birds.

⁴⁹ Again recalling the Manvantara tradition of the worlds being burnt to ashes before being flooded.

⁵⁰ A *yojana* is a distance variously computed as either 2½, 4½, 9 or 18 miles: the most common equivalent is that 1 *yojana* = 4 *krośas* = 9 miles, hence each region may be envisaged as consisting of 900 square miles (vis. 100 *yojanas*).

108. Then [there is a region] in the great forest in the adjoining territories of Kuvinda: living beings will prevail there, where there is created [a region] possessed of excellence.

109. In Devikūṭa there is a famous chief of mountains called Trikūṭa: men will remain there, anxious through fear of hunger and thirst.

110. There is a mountain called Jaradgava, or the pre-eminent Śūla (Trident): there the bodies of men will endure at the end of the Yuga.

111. [There is] a famous [mountain] called Trikūṭa in the Pāriyātra mountain [-range]: living beings will remain there, on lotus-fibres and lotus-flowers.

112. Then [there is a region] in the Bhadreyaka land, in the Pañcākānana forest,⁵¹ where there is a famous and illustrious river like the Aśokātī:

113. there [men] will live on vegetables, grain, roots and fruits. Men will [thus] sustain themselves in that terrible end of the Yuga.

114. This account of the future has been declared by me to you, O one whose emblem is the peacock (Skanda): those who will continue to live in that way will indeed always [attain] complete well-being.

115. A hundred [times] 100,000 [years]—this is always known as (the extent of) a Kalpa: at the aforesaid end of 1,000 Yugas, the Kalpa is said to be finished.

This is [the chapter] called *Yuga Purāṇa*⁵² in the *Vṛddha-Gārgīya Jyotiṣa*.⁵³

⁵¹ The obscure *dharāṇye* should probably be emended to *araṇye*; while the Pañcākānana seems likely to be synonymous with Pañcavaṇī-kānana (e.g. *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.14.1ff.) situated in the Western Deccan; see section 11 of the Introduction.

⁵² Or, "the Tradition concerning the Yugas".

⁵³ Or, "in the Astronomical Treatise of Vṛddha-Garga".

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF THE *GĀRGĪYA-JYOTIṢA*

Aside from the several passages and citations from the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* which are to be found in other works—and which have been noted especially in section 2 of the Introduction—two passages in the *Mahābhārata* are of particular help in describing the contents of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. The first of these appears in the *Śalya Parvan*, during the course of a description of various *tīrthas* or sacred bathing-places:

tasmād gandharvatīrthāc ca mahābāhur ariṃḍamaḥ |
gargasrota mahātīrtham ajagāmaikakuṇḍalī ||
yatra gargeṇa vṛddhena tapasā bhāvitātmanā |
kālajñānagatīś caiva jyotiṣām ca vyatikramaḥ ||
utpātā dāruṇāś caiva śubhāś ca janamejaya |
sarasvatyāḥ śubhe tīrthe vihitā vai mahātmanā |
tasya nāmnā ca tat tīrtham gargasrota iti smṛtam ||
tatra gargaṃ mahābhāgam ṛṣayaḥ suvratā nṛpa |
upāsām cakrire nityaṃ kālajñānaṃ prati prabho ||

“From that Gandharva-*tīrtha*, the strong-armed conqueror of foes who wore one ear-ring (i.e. Baladeva) came to a great *tīrtha* called Garga-srotas (Garga’s river). There Vṛddha-Garga, his soul purified through *tapas* (asceticism), obtained knowledge of time and of the passing-away (or, evil effects) of heavenly bodies: auspicious and inauspicious portents were determined by that great-souled one, O Janamejaya, in the beautiful *tīrtha* on the Sarasvatī. That *tīrtha* is known as “Garga-srota” after his name: there, O mighty prince, the virtuous Rishis came to pay homage to the illustrious Garga on account of his innate knowledge of time.”¹

It will be noted that the passage uses the names “Garga” and “Vṛddha-Garga” to denote the same person: and it ascribes to him knowledge of time, knowledge of the evil effects of heavenly bodies, and knowledge of auspicious and inauspicious portents. All of these topics appear promi-

1 *Mahābhārata* 9.36.14-17.

nently in the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*—as, indeed, in many other *jyotiṣa* works. The second *Mahābhārata* passage appears in the *Anuśāsana Parvan*, in a section in which various illustrious individuals describe how they obtained gifts and blessings from Śiva:

gārgya uvāca

*catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅgam adadāt kālajñānaṁ mahādbhutam /
sarasvatyās taṭe tuṣṭo manojñēna pāṇḍava //
tulyaṁ mama sahasraṁ tu sūtānāṁ brahmavādinām /
āyus caiva saputrasya saṁvatsaraśatāyutam //*

“Gārgya said: ‘Pleased by my mental sacrifice, O Pāṇḍava (son of Pāṇḍu), he (i.e. Śiva) gave me, on the bank of the Sarasvatī, the very wonderful knowledge of time which has sixty-four divisions; as also a thousand sons equal to myself and discoursers on *brahman* (the Absolute), and a life-span for myself and my children which is unimpeded for 100 years (or, which is of 1,000,000 years’ duration).”²

While a majority of manuscripts relate that the passage is spoken by “Gārgya”, a significant number have “Garga” in place of “Gārgya”.³ The first part of the passage is of particular interest, inasmuch as it mentions “the very wonderful knowledge of time which has sixty-four divisions”. For the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* itself consists of such a number of principal divisions: and the work ends by stating *iti jyotiṣam imaṁ catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅgam adbhutam*, “(the end of) this *jyotiṣa*-work consisting of sixty-four wonderful divisions”. Thus both the text of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* itself and also this *Mahābhārata* passage witness that the work consists of sixty-four main divisions. The second chapter of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*, entitled *Āṅga-samuddiṣa* or “Enumeration of the Divisions” repeats this information and also gives a list of many of these divisions:

*jyotiṣam ayanāṅgāni catuḥṣaṣṭis tathā paṭhet //
yeṣāṁ agre karmaguṇāś candramārgas tv anantaram /
nakṣatrakendrabhaṁ caiva dvivargaḥ prathamah smṛtaḥ //
rāhau bṛhaspatau śukre dhūmraketu śanaiścara /
āṅgārake budhe ‘rke ca cārān aṣṭau tataḥ paṭhet //
cakreṣv antaracakraṁ ca mṛgacakraṁ tathaiva ca /
śvacakraṁ vātacakraṁ ca cakrāṅgeṣu catuṣṭamam //*

² *Mahābhārata* 13.18.25-26.

³ Namely the Maithili and Bengali versions, the Devanāgarī versions of Nilakaṇṭha, and one further Devanāgarī version (in the BORI Critical Edition),

*vāstuvīdyāṅgavidyāṁ ca vāyasānām tathaiva ca /
jñeyā sisras (?) tu vidyaitā vṛddhagargamatāḥ śubhāḥ //
svātīyogam athāṣāḍhā rohiṇyāṁ yogam eva ca /
kṛtsnān ye tān vijānīyāt trīn yogān vai viśeṣataḥ //
try uttareṣu ca naiṣṭikaṁ praviṣaṁ salilaṁ tathā /
rahasyam cety athāṅgāni caturviṁśāni darśitāḥ //
ata ūrdhvaṁ pravakṣyāmi upāṅgāni ha nāmataḥ /
anupūrvyād vidhānena catvāriṁśatim ekataḥ //
grahakoṣo grahayuddhaṁ grahaśṛṅgāṭakaṁ tathā /
kṛtsnaṁ grahapurāṇaṁ ca grahapākāśa tathaiva ca //
nilayās cāgnīvarṇaś ca senāvīyūhas tathaiva ca /
mayūracitropaniṣad upahārāḥ praśāntayaḥ //
te āntike tulākoṣo bhavaśṛṅgopadhārayet /
sarvabhūtarutāṁ caiva tathā puṣpalatāṁ vidhuḥ //
upānahān tathā chedo vastrachedas tathaiva ca /
kṛtsnaṁ bhuvanakoṣaṁ ca garbhādānaṁ dagārgalam //
nirghātā bhūmikampās ca pariveśās tathaiva ca /
ṛtusvabhāvāḥ santy eva tatholkāś copadhārayet //
sāṁvatsaras tathā yuktaḥ śāstrāṇāṁ deśam ādiśet /
balābalaṁ tu vijñeyam bahu yat tad balaṁ vadet //
catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅgam etat tu sāṁvatsaram udāhṛtam //*

“He (i.e. the astrologer) should recite the sixty-four divisions of the treatise on *jyotiṣa*. The first of these are the *Karmaguṇa* (chapters): next is *Candramārga*; and *Nakṣatrakendrabha*—the first (?) is known to have two chapters (or, two chapters are known to be most excellent). Then he should recite the eight Courses (*Cāras*): of *Rāhu*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Śukra*, *Dhūmraketu*, *Śanaiścara*, *Āṅgāraka*, *Budha*, and *Arka* (the Sun). Among the *Cakras* (Circles) are *Antaracakra* and *Mṛgacakra*, *Śvacakra*, and *Vātacakra*—the fourth of the divisions of *Cakras*. Then there are *Vāstuvīdyā*, *Āṅgavidyā*, and *Vāyasa* (-*vidyā*): these *Vidyās* are to be known as the eminent opinions of Vṛddha-Garga. Then there are *Svātīyoga*, *Āṣāḍha* (-*yoga*), and *Rohiṇīyoga*: he (the astrologer) should understand all these three *Yogas* one by one. Then among the three remaining (divisions) are *Naiṣṭika*, *Praviṣa* and *Salila*. Thus are revealed the twenty-four divisions, which are known as ‘secret teachings’. Next I shall describe the secondary divisions (*Upāṅgas*) by name, in due order and arrangement: the forty, one by one. There are *Grahakoṣa*, *Grahayuddha*, and *Grahaśṛṅgāṭaka*; the entire *Grahapurāṇa*, and *Grahapāka*; *Nilaya*, and *Agnīvarṇa*, and also

Senāvyūha. (There are) the *Mayūracitra* secret teaching, the *Upahāra* and *Prasānti* (chapters): near to those is *Tulākośa*, and *Bhavaśṛṅga*—let him reflect (on these). There are *Sarvabhūtaruta*, *Puṣpalata*, and *Vidhu*: *Upānaha*, *Cheda*, and *Vastracheda*; the entire *Bhuvanakośa*, *Garbhādhāna*, and *Dagārgala*. There are *Nirghāta*, *Bhūmikampa*, and *Pariveśa*: there are *Ṛtusvabhāva*, and *Ulka*—let him reflect (on these). The astrologer, thus versed, should have in view the land of the *Śāstras* (sacred books): the relative strength or weakness (of celestial phenomena) is to be perceived, and he should speak forcefully about whatever is of great importance. This (work) consisting of sixty-four divisions is entitled the perennial (treatise)."

As can be seen, the passage in fact lists all of the twenty-four (primary) divisions, but only twenty-seven of the forty secondary divisions. Many of the names are given in the form in which they appear in the chapters concerned: others are given alternative names with identical meanings: as *Arka* in place of *Āditya*, and *Garbhādhāna* in place of *Garbhasamstha*. This table of contents in fact agrees fairly closely with the actual contents of the work as given in extant manuscripts: the one main exception to this being the lengthy *mayūracitraka* section of 26 chapters which has been appended after the end of the main work. In order to illustrate this, we shall now give a full list of contents of the present *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*. This has been compiled from several manuscripts: the folio-numbers listed for each chapter are those of manuscript D—this is the longest manuscript, as well one of the more reliable, and thus serves best to illustrate the relative lengths of each of the chapters. Also listed are the chapters of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* which correspond to the appropriate chapters of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa*.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE GĀRGĪYA-JYOTIṢA

Introduction

i. sāmṣatsara-nirdeśa	Folios 1a-2b	BS 2
ii. aṅga-samuddiśa	2b-4a	

Aṅga 1 : Karmaguṇā (The Qualities of Actions)

i. nakṣatra-karmaguṇa	4b-7b	BS 98
ii. paribhāṣā	7b-7b	
iii. tithi-karaṇa-guṇā	7b-9a	BS 99
iv. graha-karmaguṇāḥ	9a-9b	
v. muhūrta-guṇa	9b-12a	
vi. iti prathama	12a-12b	
vii. iti dvitīya ādito navamaḥ prathama sarga samāptaḥ	12b-13b	

Aṅga 2 : Candramārga (The Course of the Moon)

i. candramānam prathamam	13b-13b	
ii. candramāne somavarṇana	13b-14b	
iii. candramārgas tṛtīya	14b-15b	
iv. candramāne caturtho	15b-16a	
v. candramāne pañcamo	16a-17a	
vi. candravarṇa ṣaṣṭho	17a-17b	
vii. candravarṇe saptamo	17b-17b	
viii. candravarṇe aṣṭamo samāptaḥ ca dvitīyam aṅgam	17b-18a	

Aṅga 3 : Nakṣatrakendrabha (The Appearance of the Circle of the Lunar Mansions)

i. nakṣatrakendrabhe prathama	18a-18a
ii. nakṣatrakendrabhe dvitīya	18a-18b
iii. nakṣatrakendrabham nāma tṛtīya	18b-19a

Aṅga 4 : Rāhucāra (The Course of Rāhu)

i. rāhucāre rāhuvāvyapaṇako	19a-20a
ii. rāhucāre dvitīyo	20a-20b
iii.-vi. rāhucāre tṛtīya—ṣaṣṭha	20b-24b
vii. rāhucāre saptamo rāhucāra samāpta	24b-25a

<i>Aṅga 5 : Bṛhaspatīcāra</i> (The Course of Bṛhaspati/Jupiter)	25a-26b	BS	8
<i>Aṅga 6 : Śukracāra</i> (The Course of Śukra/Venus)	26b-31a	BS	9
<i>Aṅga 7 : Ketumālā</i> (The Line of Ketu/Comets)	31a-37b	BS	11
<i>Aṅga 8 : Śanaiścāra</i> (The Course of Śani/Saturn)	37b-39a	BS	10
<i>Aṅga 9 : Aṅgarakacāra</i> (The Course of Aṅgaraka/Mars)	39a-40b	BS	6
<i>Aṅga 10 : Budhacāra</i> (The Course of Budha/Mercury)	40b-41a	BS	7
<i>Aṅga 11 : Ādityacāra</i> (The Course of Āditya/The Sun)	41a-45b	BS	3
<i>Aṅga 12 : Agastyacāra</i> (The Course of Agastya/ Canopus)	45b-46a	BS	12
<i>Aṅga 13 : Antaracakra</i> (The Circle of 32 Intermediate Regions)		BS	87
i. antaracakre prathama	46a-46b		
ii.-vi. antaracakre dvitīya—ṣaṣṭha	46b-49b		
vii. antaracakre saptama antaracakram samāptam	49b-51a		
<i>Aṅga 14 : Mṛgacakra</i> (The Circle of Mṛga/Deer)		BS	91
i. mṛgacakre prathama	51a-52b		
ii.-iii. mṛgacakre dvitīya—tṛtīya	52b-56a		
iv. mṛgacakre caturtha mṛgacakram samāptam	56a-57b		
<i>Aṅga 15 : Śvacakra</i> (The Circle of Śva/Dogs)	57b-61a	BS	89
<i>Aṅga 16 : Vātacakra</i> (The Circle of Winds)	61a-66b	BS	27
<i>Aṅga 17 : Vāstuvidyā</i> (Knowledge of Houses)		BS	53
i. vāstuvidyāyām prathama	66b-70a		
ii. vāstuvidyāyām dvitīya	70a-70b		
iii. vāstuvidyāyām dvāranirdiśa tṛtīya	70b-72a		
iv. vāstuvidyāyām dvārapramāṇavidhi	72a-73a		
v. vāstuvidyāyām dvitriśālaikaśālāvidhi catuṣśālā	73a-74a		
vi. vāstuvidyāyām caturbhāgatribhāgavibhāga	74a-75b		

vii. vāstuvidyāyām dvārastambho chayavidhi	75b-76b		
viii. vāstuvidyāyām dvārapramāṇanirdeśa	76b-78a		
ix. vāstuvidyāyām gṛhapraveśa	78a-78a		
x. vāstuvidyāyām daśama samāptā vāstuvidyā	78a-78b		
<i>Aṅga 18 : Aṅgavidyā</i> (Knowledge of Limbs)	78b-84a	BS	51
<i>Aṅga 19 : Vāyasavidyā</i> (Knowledge of Birds)	84a-88b	BS	95
<i>Aṅga 20 : Svātīyoga</i> (Conjunction with Svātī)	88b-89b	BS	25
<i>Aṅga 21 : Āṣāḍhayoga</i> (Conjunction with Āṣāḍha)	89b-90b	BS	26
<i>Aṅga 22 : Rohiṇīyoga</i> (Conjunction with Rohiṇī)		BS	24
i. rohiṇyām yogah prathama	90b-92b		
ii. rohiṇīyoga	92b-94b		
iii. rohiṇinimittalakṣaṇam	94b-96a		
iv. rohiṇicandraga	96a-97b		
v. mṛgopahāra	97b-99a		
vi. rohiṇīyoge mṛgopaharaṇam samāptam	99a-100b		
<i>Aṅga 23 : Janapadavyūha</i> (The Arrangement of Countries)		BS	14
i. (prathama)	100b-102a		
ii. (dvitīya)	102a-107a		
<i>Aṅga 24 : Salila</i> (Rainfall)		BS	
i. mahāsalile pṛśravinirdeśa	107a-110a		
ii. salilaṇ nāmādhyāya	110a-125a		
(End of the 24 Major Aṅgas)			
<i>Aṅga 25 : Grahakośa</i> (Collection of Planets)	125a-127b	BS	16- 20
<i>Aṅga 26 : Grahasamāgama</i> (Conjunction of Planets)	127b-130a		
<i>Aṅga 27 : Grahāmṛādakṣiṇyam</i>	130a-130b		

<i>Aṅga 28 : Grahayuddha</i> (Opposition of Planets)	130b-131a
<i>Aṅga 29 : Grahaśṛṅgātaka</i> (Configuration of Planets)	131b-141b
<i>Aṅga 30 : Grahapurāṇa</i> (Traditions of the Planets)	141b-143b
<i>Aṅga 31 : Grahapāka</i> (Fruits of the Planets)	144a-145b
<i>Aṅga 32 : Yātrā</i> (Journeys)	
i. yātrālakṣaṇa	146a-149a
ii. yātrāsiddhi	149b-150b
<i>Aṅga 33 : Agnivarṇa</i> (Nature of Fire)	
i. agnivarṇaprasāstalakṣaṇa	150b-152b
ii. agninimittalakṣaṇa	152b-153b
<i>Aṅga 34 : Senāvyūha</i> (Battle-Array)	153b-156a
<i>Aṅga 35 : Mayūracitra</i> (Variegation of the Peacock)	156a-160b BS 47
<i>Aṅga 36 : Bhuvanapuṣkara</i> (The Lotus/Heart of the Earth)	160b-165a
<i>Aṅga 37 : Balyupahāra</i> (The Offering of Oblations)	
i. balyupahāra	165a-166a
ii. nakṣatrabalyupahāra	166a-168b
<i>Aṅga 38 : Śāntikalpa</i> (Rules for Propitiation)	
i. gavām śānti	168b-171a
ii. janamāraśānti	171a-172a
iii. janamāraśāntike dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ	172a-174b
iv. janamāraśāntiprakaraṇaṃ	174b-175b
v. kālajñāne śāntikalpo vāmopāṅga	175b-177a
<i>Aṅga 39 : Rāṣṭrotpātalakṣaṇa</i> (Signs and Portents of Calamity)	BS 46
i. rāṣṭrotpātika niścaya	177a-178a
ii. rāṣṭrotpāto devatāceṣṭita	178a-179a

iii. jyotiṣo vabhāsavaikṛta	179a-179b
iv. sasyavaikṛta	179b-180a
v. vṛkṣotpātika	180a-181a
vi. varṣavaikṛta/vṛṣṭivaikṛta	181a-181b
vii. nadīvaikṛta	181b-181b
viii. jāyavaikṛta	181b-182b
ix. vāyuvaiṣṭika	182b-183a
x. mṛgapakṣivaikṛta	183a-184a
xi. akālotpātika	184a-184b
xii. rāṣṭrotpātikaṃ rājāṣṭakaṃ samāptaṃ cotpātalakṣaṇaṃ	184b-186a
<i>Aṅga 40 : Tulākośa</i> (Weighing on a Balance)	186b-187b
<i>Aṅga 41 : Yugapurāṇa</i> : (The Tradition of the Yugas)	188a-193b
<i>Aṅga 42 : Sarvabhūtaruta</i> (The Cries of all Creatures)	
i. vāyasaruta	193b-195a
ii. śatapatraruta	195a-195b
iii. cāsaruta	195b-196a
iv. sārasaruta	196a-196a
v. pesamaruta	196a-196b
vi. śakkarikāruta	196b-196b
vii. mayūraruta	196b-196b
viii. visphoṭiruta	196b-196b
ix. cirañiruta	196b-197a
x. bhāradvājaruta	197a-197a
xi. kapoṭiruta	197a-197a
xii. kokilaruta	197a-197a
xiii. śakuniruta	197a-197a
xiv. śakuniruta (dvitīya)	197a-197b
xv. ulūkaruta	197b-197b
xvi. piṅgalāruta	197b-197b
xvii. nartukāruta	197b-197b
xviii. sundarikāruta	197b-197b
xix. tittiriruta	197b-197b
xx. biḍālaruta	197b-198b
xxi. śaśakaruta	198b-198b
xxii. gardabharuta	198b-198b
xxiii. lomaśāruta	198b-199a

xxiv. vṛṣabharuta	199a-199a	
xxv. lopāruta	199a-199a	
xxvi. pṛṣatāruta	199a-199a	
xxvii. sarvabhūtaruta	199a-200a	
<i>Āṅga 43 : Vastracheda</i> (Tears in Clothes)	200b-202a	BS 71
<i>Āṅga 44 : Bṛhaspatipurāṇa</i> (The Tradition of Bṛhaspati)	202a-205a	
<i>Āṅga 45 : Indradhvaja</i> (Indra's Banner)		BS 43
i. indradhvajam utthāna	205a-205b	
ii. indradhvajotthāne ca	205b-207b	
iii. indradhvajotthānam samāptam	207b-208b	
<i>Āṅga 46 : Ajalakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Rams)	208b-211a	BS 65
<i>Āṅga 47 : Kūrmalakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Tortoises)	211a-211b	BS 64
<i>Āṅga 48 : Strīlakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Women)	211b-223b	BS 70
<i>Āṅga 49 : Gajalakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Elephants)	223b-225a	BS 67
<i>Āṅga 50 : Golakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Cows)	225a-228b	BS 61
<i>Āṅga 51 : Bhārgavasamsthāna</i> (The Appearance of Venus)		
i. bhārgavasamsthāne prathama	228b-228b	
ii. bhārgavasamsthāne dvitīya	228b-229a	
iii. bhārgavasamsthāne tṛtīya	229a-229b	
<i>Āṅga 52 : Carbhasamsthā</i> (The Appearance of Embryos)	229b-231b	BS 21
<i>Āṅga 53 : Dagārgala</i> (Water-Divining)	231b-234b	BS 54
<i>Āṅga 54 : Nirghāta</i> (Natural Destructions)	234b-235b	BS 39
<i>Āṅga 55 : Bhūmikampa</i> (Earthquakes)		BS 32
i. bhūmikampalakṣaṇe prathama	235b-236a	

ii. bhūmikampaḥ samāptaḥ	236a-236a	
<i>Āṅga 56 : Pariveṣa</i> (Halos)	236a-238b	BS 34
<i>Āṅga 57 : Ulkālakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Meteors)	238b-240b	BS 33
<i>Āṅga 58 : Pariveṣacakra</i> (The Circle of Halos)	240b-242b	BS 34
<i>Āṅga 59 : Ṛtusvabhāva</i> (The Nature of the Seasons)		
i. ṛtusvabhāvopāṅge prathama	242b-244b	
ii.-v. ṛtusvabhāve dvitīya—pañcama	244b-248a	
vi. ṛtusvabhāvam samāptam	248a-248b	
<i>Āṅga 60 : Sandhyālakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Twilight)	248b-251a	BS 30
<i>Āṅga 61 : Ulkālakṣaṇa</i> (Signs of Meteors)	251a-252b	BS 33
<i>Āṅga 62 : Nakṣatrapuruṣakośa</i> (The Frame of the Nakṣatra-Puruṣa)	252b-255a	BS 105
<p><i>iti jyotiṣam imam catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅgam adbhutam vṛddhagārgīye tantrē samvatsarasūtra samāptā ca gārgīsamhitā iti vṛddhagārgīye tantram catuḥṣaṣṭyaṅgāni samāptāni samāptā ceyam vṛddhagārgasamhitā</i></p>		
<p>(End of the Vṛddha-Gārgīya-Jyotiṣa-Samhitā consisting of 64 Āṅgas/Divisions)</p>		

APPENDIX : Mayūracitraka (Variegation of the Peacock)

i. mayūracitrake prathama	255a-257b
ii.-xi. mayūracitrake dvitīya—ekādaśama	257b-264b
xii. mayūracitrake dvādaśama	264b-265a
xiii. mayūracitrake utpātaprakaraṇe navamo (!) dhyāha	265a-270a
xiv. mayūracitrake utpātādhyāya	270a-272b
xv. mayūracitrake utpātavipākādhyāya	272b-273b
xvi. mayūracitrake utpātaprakaraṇe śāntyadhyāya	273b-274b

xvii.	mayūracitrake utpātikaprakaraṇe viśvāmitraśāntināmādhya	274b-276a
xviii.	mayūracitrake utpātikaprakaraṇe ṣoḍaśa (!) samāptam cedam utpātalakṣaṇam (!)	276a-278b
xix.	mayūracitrake saptadaśa	278b-280a
xx.	mayūracitrake uttarottaramārgagamanam āṣāḍhācandrayoga	280a-283b
xxi.	mayūracitrake dvādaśo paurṇamāsīnām utpātalakṣaṇam samāptam	283b-285b
xxii.	arghakāṇḍe nakṣatrapīḍā	285b-286a
xxiii.	mayūracitrake utpātaprakaraṇe (!) arghakāṇḍavidhi	286a-291b BS 42
xxiv.	mayūracitrake deśānakṣatragāṇaḥ samāptaḥ	291b-292a
xxv.	arghakāṇḍe saṃvatsarapra	292a-293b
xxvi.	mayūracitrake nakṣatrārīṣṭaka	293b-294b

vr̥ddhagārgaṇa kṛtā ceyam gārgīsaṃhitā

APPENDIX 2

UTPALA'S CITATIONS FROM GARGA AND VR̥DDHA-GARGA
IN HIS COMMENTARY ON THE *BR̥HAT-SAMHITĀ*

In the following account, the first column gives the passage in the *Br̥hat-samhitā* at which the citation occurs: the second column gives the name of the chapter concerned in the *Br̥hat-samhitā*: and the third column gives the number of lines cited. The edition of the *Br̥hat-samhitā* referred to is that edited by Avadha Vihārī Tripāṭhī in two volumes (Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā vol. 97: Varanasi, 1968)

a. Citations from Garga

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
1.5	Upanayana	6
1.9	"	2
1.11	"	46
"	"	5
2.	Sāṃvatsarasūtra	2
2.6	"	2
3.4	Ādityacāra	2
3.30	"	2
4.7	Candracāra	8
5.2	Rāhucāra	2
5.13	"	2
5.17	"	6
5.23	"	2
5.24	"	4
5.32-4	"	2
6.2	Bhaumacāra	6
6.3	"	4

<i>BS Passage</i>	<i>Name of Chapter</i>	<i>No. of Lines</i>
6.4	Bhaumacāra	4
6.5	"	4
6.13	"	5
7.14	Budhacāra	4
8.1	Bṛhaspaticāra	2
8.1	"	4
8.2	"	8
"	"	2
8.3	"	2
8.4	"	2
8.6	"	2
8.7	"	2
8.8	"	2
8.9	"	2
8.10	"	2
8.11	"	2
8.12	"	3
8.13	"	2
9.4	Śukracāra	12
9.6	"	6
9.8	"	6
9.37	"	2
10.1-2	Śanaiścara	2
"	"	2
10.7	"	2
10.21	"	2
11.5	Ketucāra	2
11.7	"	4
11.10	"	4
11.11	"	4
11.12	"	2

<i>BS Passage</i>	<i>Name of Chapter</i>	<i>No. of Lines</i>
11.13	Ketucāra	3
11.14	"	2
11.15	"	2
11.17	"	4
11.18	"	2
11.19	"	4
11.20	"	4
11.21	"	4
11.22	"	3
11.23	"	4
11.24	"	4
11.25	"	4
11.26	"	4
11.27	"	4
11.28	"	2
11.33-6	"	2
12.20	Agastyacāra	4
14.1	Nakṣatrakūrma	8
16.40-41	Grahabhaktiyoga	6
17.2-3	Grahayuddha	2
17.9	"	6
17.10	"	4
21.6	Garbhalakṣaṇa	2
21.8	"	9
21.9-12	"	4
21.25-6	"	6
21.29	"	6
23.1	Pravarṣaṇa	2
23.4	"	2
23.10	"	3
24.6-7	Rohiṇiyoga	7

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
24.10	Rohiṇīyoga	2
"	"	8
24.12	"	2
24.20	"	4
24.21	"	2
24.26	"	6
24.35	"	9
25.2-3	Svātiyoga	11
26.1	Āṣādhīyoga	2
26.10	"	3
26.11	"	2
30.1	Sandhyālakṣaṇa	2
30.22	"	8
32.1	Bhūkampalakṣaṇa	7
32.3-7	"	6
32.8-11	"	6
32.12-15	"	6
32.16-19	"	6
32.20-22	"	6
32.23	"	4
32.29	"	3
33.1	Ulkālakṣaṇa	2
34.8	Pariveśalakṣaṇa	2
34.9	"	4
34.10	"	2
34.11	"	2
35.3	Indrāyudhalakṣaṇa	12
38.1	Nirghātalakṣaṇa	2
38.2-5	"	9
42.7	Indradhvasampad	5
42.13-14	"	2

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
42.23-4	Indradhvasampad	2
42.38	"	2
42.39	"	2
42.40	"	4
42.58	"	2
42.61	"	4
42.66	"	4
45.2	Utpāta	2
45.3	"	10
45.5	"	6
45.7	"	2
45.8	"	8
45.21	"	2
45.22	"	2
45.26	"	2
45.52	"	10
45.55-6	"	7
45.67	"	5
46.4	Mayūracitraka	4
46.5	"	2
46.6	"	4
46.9	"	2
46.11	"	4
46.13	"	3
46.14	"	2
46.24	"	2
46.26	"	2
47.15	Puṣyasnāna	4
47.38	"	4
47.80	"	7
47.84	"	2

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
49.15	Khaḍgalakṣaṇa	6
49.20	"	6
52.16	Vāstuvidyā	2
52.23	"	2
52.31	"	2
52.32	"	2
52.33	"	2
52.34	"	2
52.35	"	2
52.73	"	18
52.74	"	2
52.83	"	6
52.93	"	11
52.94-5	"	8
52.107	"	14
52.110-111	"	28
61.1	Śvalakṣaṇa	5
62.1	Kukkuṭalakṣaṇa	6
63.3	Kūrmalakṣaṇa	6
64.5	Chāgalakṣaṇa	2
64.6	"	2
64.7	"	2
64.8	"	2
67.2	Puruṣalakṣaṇa	2
67.85-8	"	28
67.94	"	2
67.95	"	8
67.114	"	2
69.5	Kanyālakṣaṇa	2
69.6	"	2
69.7	"	4

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
69.10	Kanyālakṣaṇa	6
70.9	Vastracchedalakṣaṇa	5
71.4	Cāmaralakṣaṇa	3
72.1-3	Chatralakṣaṇa	6
85.12	Śākuna	8
88.1	Śvacakra	2
88.13	"	4
94.53	Vāyasaviruta	3
96.11	Pāka	2
98.1-3	Tithikarmaguṇa	64
99.5	Karaṇaguṇa	34
103.60	Grahagocara	4
"	"	5
"	"	5
103.61	"	6
103.62	"	6
"	"	6
103.63	"	4
104.6	Rūpasattra	4

b. Citations from Vṛddha-Garga

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
3.5	Ādityacāra	4
3.23-4	"	5
3.28	"	2
3.36	"	2
4.9	Candracāra	4
4.10	"	2
4.11	"	6
4.12	"	4
"	"	3

BS Passage	Name of Chapter	No. of Lines
4.13	Candracāra	2
4.14	"	2
4.15	"	2
4.19	"	2
5.17	Rāhucāra	2
"	"	2
5.26	"	6
5.27	"	4
5.28-31	"	2
5.96	"	10
6.1	Bhaumacāra	4
7.1	Budhacāra	2
7.12-13	"	8
7.15	"	8
7.17	"	4
8.14	Bṛhaspaticāra	2
11.7	Ketucāra	4
11.32	"	10
13.3	Saptarṣicāra	2
13.7	"	4
13.8-11	"	11
17.2-3	Grahayuddha	6
18.1	Śaṣigrahasamāgama	4
21.32	Garbhalakṣaṇa	3
32.2	Bhūkampalakṣaṇa	4
47.2	Puṣyasnāna	10
47.15	"	4
52.39-41	Vāstuvidyā	2

Total number of lines cited by Utpala from Garga: 960

Total number of lines cited by Utpala from Vṛddha-Garga: 158

APPENDIX 3

LIST OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS
CONSULTED IN INDIA

Ahmedabad	Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidyamandir Gujarat Vidya Sabha
Aliyavada	Gangajala Vidyapeeth (a)
Allahabad	Ganganath Jha Institute (b) Hindi Sahitya Sammelan State Archives of Uttar Pradesh
Alwar	Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (branch) (a) (b)
Banaras	See Varanasi
Baroda	Oriental Research Institute (b)
Bhuvaneshwar	Orissa State Museum
Bikaner	Anup Sanskrit Library (b) Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (branch)
Bombay	Asiatic Society (b) University Library (a) (b)
Calcutta	Asiatic Society (a) (b) Bishop's College National Library (a) Sanskrit College (a) Vangiya Sahitya Parishad
Darbhanga	Kameshvara Singh Sanskrit University Mithila Research Institute

Gauhati	Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies
Hoshiarpur	Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute (b)
Hyderabad	Osmania University
Jaipur	Chandra Mahal Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (branch)
Jodhpur	Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (branch) (b)
Kota	Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (branch) Sarasvati Vidyapeeth
Lucknow	Akhila Bhāratiya Sanskrit Parishad
Madras	Adyar Library (b) Government Oriental Manuscript Library (b) University Sanskrit Department (b)
Moodbidri	Jain Math (b)
Mysore	Oriental Research Institute (b)
Nagpur	University Library
Patna	Jalan Museum K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute
Poona	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (a) (b) Deccan College Fergusson College (a)
Rajkot	Saurashtra University Library
Shantiniketan	Visva-Bharati
Tanjore	Sarasvati Mahal (b)
Trivandrum	Travancore University Manuscripts Library (b)

Udaipur	Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (branch) (b) Sahitya Samsthan, Rajasthan Vidyapeeth
Ujjain	Scindia Oriental Institute (b)
Varanasi	Banaras Hindu University (a) Kashiraj Trust Nagari Pracarini Sabha (a) Sampurnanand Sanskrit University (a)
Vrindavan	Vrindavan Research Institute
Wai	Prajna Pathashala Mandala

(a) denotes that the collection contains a copy of the *Gārgīya-jyotiṣa* (either complete or incomplete) ;

(b) denotes that the collection contains a copy of one of the other *jyotiṣa* works ascribed to Garga or Vṛddha-Garga (Pingree A. 2 nos. 2-8, pp. 117-120.)

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- Brahmin** (a member of the highest or priestly caste) 37, 100, 110, 148, 156
- daṇḍa** (a stick, rod or staff: symbol of power, authority and punishment) 18, 132n, 175
- dharma** (righteous conduct, virtue: the proper state of affairs, the correct performance of ones own duties: religion, law) 5, 31, 39, 50, 52, 53, 54, 111, 200
- gṛhastha** (a householder, one engaged in the second stage of life) 174
- guṇa** (a quality or attribute: especially the three constituents of matter, *vis. sattva, rajas and tamas*) 29, 81, 92
- Kalpa** (a period of time, equivalent to 1,000 consecutive (4-) Yugas) 232, 233
- karma** (deed, action, occupation, duty: result of action) 30, 38, 89, 90, 177
- Kilaka** (pin, pillar: name of the 42nd year in the 60-year cycle of Jupiter) 154
- Dvāpara** (the side of a die with two spots: "the age of the number two", the third of the four Yugas) 46, 52, 58, 63
- Kali** (the side of a die with one spot: the last and worst of the four Yugas, the present age) 75, 76, 80, 194
- Kṛta** (the side of a die with four spots: the first and best of the four Yugas, the golden age) 15, 19, 22, 23

TECHNICAL TERMS

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- Kṣatra** (power, supremacy, government: the military authority synonymous with Kṣatriya) 28, 45
- Kṣatriya** (a member of the second or military caste) 35, 44, 100
- Mleccha** (a foreigner, non-Aryan, outcaste, or man of low birth) 136
- muhūrta** (a moment or instant: a period of time, one-thirtieth part of a day or 48 minutes) 87
- Pāṣaṇḍa** (a heretic, hypocrite or imposter, one who falsely assumes the character of a Hindu: a Jain or Buddhist) 102
- Sādhu** (righteous, virtuous: an ascetic or sage: a Jina) 92
- Śūdra** (a member of the fourth and lowest caste, a servant) 38, 100, 108, 110
- svadharma** (ones own *dharma* or duty) 54
- svakarma** (ones own *karma* or duty) 30, 38, 177
- tapas** (heat, especially that generated by ascetic practices: asceticism) 4, 22, 64
- Tretā** (the side of a die with three spots: the second of the four Yugas) 42, 43
- Vaiśya** (a member of the third caste: a peasant, agriculturist or trader) 38, 100
- varṇa** (a colour: a caste, especially the four main castes *vis. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras*) 30, 31, 138, 139
- Veda** (sacred knowledge: especially the four Vedic *saṃhitās, vis. Ṛg, Sāma, Yajur and Atharva Vedas*, with their derivative literatures) 33
- Vipra** (an inspired seer: a Brahmin) 33, 36
- yojana** (joining: a path: the distance traversed in one harnessing, equivalent to either $2\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, 9 or 18 English miles) 203, 214, 216
- Yuga** (a yoke or team: a race or generation: an age of the world and period of time, consisting of either the aggregate of the four Yugas—

also called a Mahā-Yuga or great Yuga—or the four Yugas individually, *vis. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali*, q. v. also) 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 29, 34, 45, 50, 55, 69, 100, 102, 107, 109, 116, 185, 193, 195, 197, 201, 207, 209, 211, 223, 229, 233.